The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1894.

The Week.

MR. MORTON'S letter of acceptance is of the perfunctory nature usual in such documents. His tariff argumentation is pretty watery, and actually brings in again that huge joke of the platform of 1888, that the way to get duties lowered and made sweetly reasonable is to leave them in the hands of their friends. We suppose Mr. Morton felt called upon to put all this in his letter to show that he was a true-blue Republican, and all that, but it really has no earthly relation to the canvass in this State this year. State issues, on the other hand, which are vital and which will be decisive, he treats only in a subordinate way and with nothing like the directness that the situation warrants. However, that situation, created by Democratic folly and wickedness, speaks for itself, and Mr. Morton is probably as well aware as anybody that no particular aggressiveness is required on his part. When the Lord is about to deliver the Philistines into your hands, the smiting hip and thigh and hewing in pieces may well be deferred to a later occasion.

By the nomination of Everett P. Wheeler for Governor the Democrats who were expelled from the Saratoga convention and who cannot vote for the man who planned the fraud which Maynard executed, have a perfectly plain road before them. All the embarrassments are removed. They have a perfectly satisfactory candidate—a man whose party allegiance has never been questioned, and whose services to the party, if measured by unceasing efforts to keep it in the right path and to keep it fit to receive the support of good citizens, have been great. Mr. Wheeler has been chairman of the executive committee of the Civil-Service Reform Association from its beginning. He has been a member of the Local Advisory Board of Civil-Service Examiners, president of the Reform Club for several years, and prominently identified with the University Settlement and other charitable work, and has never been an office-seeker. In accepting a nomination now he is simply carrying forward in another way the kind of work which he has been doing gratuitously these many years. Probably most of the Independents of Republican leanings will vote for Morton for Governor in order to count double against Hill. Each man will decide this question for himself when the time comes. The platform adopted by the third party is excellent in all respects, and especially in its denunciation of secret societies and religious intolerance in politics.

All hope of escape for Tammany from the wrath to come in November was cut off last week by the State Democracy's public-spirited approval of Mr. Strong's candidacy, followed, as it shortly was, by similar action on the part of the German-American Reform Union, assuring a united anti-Tammany force behind a single candidate. Under these conditions Tammany's defeat is certain. The action of the State Democracy is formal recognition of the fact that Tammany is not a part of the Democratic party, but simply Tammany. When this distinction is made, the contention that this is a great Democratic city and should consequently be ruled by Democrats, falls to the ground. The men who have made this contention in the past have counted Tammany twice—once as Tammany and un-Democratic when they are opposing it, and once as Democratic when they are opposing the Republicans. They have discovered at last that they must be either for Tammany or against it, and they have wisely decided that as honest men they must be against it.

People who are disposed to despair of our city government may take some comfort in the state of public feeling at this moment. When they recall the fact that, two years ago, Tammany seemed so solidly entrenched in public affection or public indifference that the Boss kept an office open for the sale of legislation, that Gilroy the mayor "sassed" the respectable citizens who complained of the misconduct of his "pals"; that he was filling high and responsible offices with furnace-men, gamblers, murderers, drunkards, and small adventurers; that the "well nows" were maintaining that New York was one of the best-governed cities in the world ("life and property nowhere so secure," "low interest on bonds"); that Croker was writing in the magazines on "organization," and Gilroy smacking his lips over "the wealth of New York"; that all the baser sort of little lawyers were running into Tammany in order to increase their base practice—when they remember all these things, they may well take heart and try again. And if this result can be ascribed to anything but the increasing audacity of the Tammany yahoos, we should ascribe it to the persistence and pluck with which Dr. Parkhurst stuck to the police. It was his splendid bulldog obstinacy in holding on to them which really made the first clear impression on the public mind and brought about the present investigation.

Tammany has selected as its candidate for mayor one of the worst park commissioners we have ever had. It ought to be enough to say of him that he is willing to accept Tammany's nomination at this crisis, but we shall add of Mr. Straus that he was the head devil in the scheme of 1892 to ruin Central Park by putting a race-track through it. He joined with the other Tammany members of the Board in pushing the scheme through the Legislature, and in taking the position that the law was mandatory and the commissioners had no choice in the matter. When he was criticised for his course, he expressed a desire to "lick" his critics, and persisted in his conduct till a mass meeting was held and the repeal of the law compelled from the Legislature. He declares now that he has never been a member of Tammany Hall, that he has always been independent in his public conduct, and that his chief aim has been to serve the people. His record as an official is against this claim, for no instance can be found in which he was not ready both to do Tammany's bidding and to fight for it. In the proceedings of the Park Board he has shown himself to be so ignorant as to be incapable of drafting a resolution. He would be a dangerous man for the press and a troublesome man for the public to have in power in the city hall, for no editor could criticise him without danger of a "licking," and the public could not check his raids upon its parks and other cherished institutions except by calling mass-meetings. This would give us pandemonium instead of government.

Last week, for the first time, a member of the police force went on the stand and told the Lexow Committee a straightforward story, without any backing and filling or failure of memory, setting forth the way his captain had forced him to give up half his extra earnings and finally demanded the whole. Such unaccustomed frankness brought applause from the spectators. It was, in fact, of the greatest importance, since it shows that the huge police conspiracy of evasion and perjury may be on the point of falling to pieces. There must be hundreds of policemen who, like Officer DeGann, are thoroughly sick of being treated like serfs, and made the instruments of oppression and blackmail in the hands of their superiors; and his example of truthfulness ought to inspire them to come forward to tell what they know.

Of almost equal significance was the testimony drawn from the agent of the French steamship line. In his books had been found the tell-tale entry of $500, "payés à qui de droit," and the vain efforts of Mr. Forget to escape telling where this money went were really pitiful. Everybody knows where it went, directly or indirectly. Everybody knows who the men are who have collected money, "de droit," from steamship companies and all other

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bleedable corporations in this city. What the public is now impatient to see established is the system on which Tammany has divided its blackmail. The fact of its collection in enormous quantities is now patent to the boys in the street; the only question is, How was it divided? We hope to see Mr. Goff yet strike upon the percentages of the "new Tammany's" division of plunder with a skill and certainty equal to that which Mr. Tilden showed in figuring out the booty which went, "de droit," to Tweed and each of his fellow-thieves.

Mr. Goff's discovery of a witness who swore that when he let his store for $50 rental, to be used as a polling-booth at election time, he was obliged to give the police captain a bonus of $15 for selecting the store for that purpose, revealed a new and fruitful source of police revenue. There are 1,141 polling places in this city, so that if the regular tariff was $15, as was undoubtedly the case, the captains received yearly from this source more than $17,000, or an average of $500 apiece. This is pure robbery, for the amount paid is not large, being, in fact, barely adequate compensation for the use of the premises. The captains have exacted it literally at the point of the club by causing it to be understood that no place would be designated by them for the purpose unless the proprietor paid back part of his compensation. Mr. Goff's witness said that no bonus had been demanded of him this year—a fact which gives the first indication we have had that the police are getting cautious under exposure.

Mr. Goff's daily revelations suggest irresistibly the juggler with his hat. "What would you like me to take out of it next?" he asks, and when the audience replies, "Oh, any new form of police depravity," he immediately takes out a new kind, a little more degrading if possible than all the other samples that have preceded it. On Wednesday week he took up policy-shop gambling, and had no difficulty whatever in showing that this, like green-goods swindling, bunco games, Chinese gambling, thieving, prostitution, liquor-selling, and pawn-shop rascality, goes on under the protection of the police captains and for their personal profit. In fact, Mr. Goff has proved beyond doubt that the police, instead of pursuing and seeking to abolish crime in the city, systematically protect and nourish it for purposes of revenue. Was there ever in the history of the world such a police force as this to be found in a civilized community? Before Mr. Goff began his labors we were assured by all the Tammany "well nows" that we undoubtedly had the "finest" police force in the world. Nothing of this kind is heard now: Tammany itself repudiates the police, and seeks to wash its hands of all responsibility for it; but does anybody doubt that if other branches of our municipal service—like the police courts, the Health Board, the Dock Department, the Excise Board, or the Fire Department—were to be overhauled by Mr. Goff, a state of affairs would be revealed which would be as embarrassing for the "well nows" as the police revelations are? It is the Tammany theory of government which is being laid bare, not any abuse of it, or any abnormal outgrowth of it. It is a government by thieves, and naturally it cannot bear the light.

Nowhere in the country are the Democrats more thoroughly demoralized than in Michigan. Two members of the State committee have resigned their places and retired from the canvass, on the ground that their candidate for Governor has made a bargain with the A. P. A., and is to receive the vote of that organization for a consideration. Another prominent politician has also written a letter refusing to take any part in the campaign, on the same ground, and he cites evidence which appears conclusive of the truth of the charge. To make matters worse, the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant-Governor has declined the nomination, and announces that he purposes to support the Republican party. Moreover, the Democrats have never recovered from the just odium which they incurred four years ago, when they got control of the Legislature, by passing a law changing the system of choosing Presidential electors from the traditional and elsewhere universal one of a State ticket to the district system, in order that they might secure in 1892, as they did, some votes for their candidate, although the Republicans had a majority in the commonwealth. They have been "too smart," and they deserve no sympathy now that they have fallen into difficulties.

It seems that Senator Hoar was the author of that extraordinary platform of the Massachusetts Republicans this year, with its "gushing" declarations in favor of "Americanism everywhere," "leadership along loftier paths," "minds ever open to the sunlight and the morning," and so on. We ought to have recognized its source by the introduction of "sunlight" and "morning." They are favorite political terms with the Massachusetts Senator, and have been embalmed for future generations in the *Congressional Record*, in his speech of welcome to that arrant demagogue, Mahone of Virginia, when he entered the Senate as a readjuster and ally of the Republicans in 1881. This passage from that speech, read in the light of experience, shows how easily Mr. Hoar was taken in by a cheap adventurer:

> "There are Democrats in the South who do not mean to live any longer in the graveyards and among the tombs, whose face is toward the morning, and on whose brow the rising sunlight of the future generations of this country is already beginning to be visible. Of such Democrats the avant-courier has already reached the Senate chamber, after long waiting and yearning. The Republicans of the North desire to stretch forth a friendly hand. It is in the spirit of the future, and not of the past, it is in the spirit of union and not of sectionalism, that we are holding out our hand to those brave and noble Democrats of Virginia whose representative took his seat to-day on this floor."

All accounts now agree that the month of August was marked by a world-wide movement of financial recuperation. It began, as a rule, before the close of July. It reached its culmination here before the end of August; in several European centres it lasted longer. In all quarters, however, it has been now succeeded by another period of calm, alternately marked by utter dulness and by moderate reaction. This is the rule of recovery from trade depression. Confidence moves slowly; it merely feels its way. At intervals, commonly several months apart, a sentiment of hope seems all at once to spread throughout the business world. The resulting rise in prices and activity in exchange do not at first continue long. As the underlying demand for goods or investments slackens, the speculators, who as usual anticipate the outside buying, halt to take profits and to test their market. Prices, of course, recede; but if, as happened last month, they continue steady at a better level than before, the groundwork of confidence is laid for further recovery. Meantime, the current figures of the money market show a more substantial change than in any of the year's preceding recoveries. Comparing last Saturday's New York bank statement with that at August's opening, it will be found that loans and discounts increased, within the eleven weeks, $18,000,000, while actual cash reserve fell off $6,000,000. The Bank of Germany's loan account expanded in the same period $18,000,000, the Austrian Bank's $17,000,000; and while the Bank of England's discounts decreased slightly, its idle gold supply fell off nearly $9,000,000.

The plan of currency reform adopted by the American bankers' convention at Baltimore proposes to substitute a cash guarantee fund, in place of deposited bonds, as security for the notes of failed banks. As the present generation has grown up in an atmosphere of bond security for banknotes, any other system seems at first glance quite inadmissible. It strikes the average American very much as a plan for abolishing the House of Representatives or establishing a state religion would, and he says at once that it will never do. Upon a little closer examination he finds that there is something to be said on the other side. When he has once begun to doubt, he learns that the system of bond security is really a system to dispense with credit as an element in banknote issues, which is much the same thing as dispensing with fuel in making a fire. Then, if he is an intelligent person capable of forming an opinion on this class of questions, he will be prepared to consider other

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plans for making noteholders secure, and this he will the more readily do when he sees that present bond security will not last more than ten or twelve years, and will be a diminishing quantity all the time. The Baltimore plan contemplates that the Government shall redeem banknotes as it does now, and that the funds for redemption shall be provided by the banks; but instead of depositing $114 in order to get $90 of circulating notes as now, it proposes that the participating banks shall contribute to a mutual insurance fund sufficient to meet deficiencies in the assets of failed banks. The amount necessary for such a fund can be ascertained with as much certainty as a life-insurance reserve. Figures were presented by ex-Comptroller Hepburn at Baltimore showing that a tax of three-hundredths of one per cent. per annum on circulation would have reimbursed the Government for the redemption of the notes of all failed banks, even if there had been no bond security.

These figures were supplied by the present comptroller, Mr. Eckels, and are brought down to the present time. Under the existing law, as well as under the proposed plan, the Government has a first lien on the assets of each failed bank for note redemption. The figures presented by Mr. Hepburn, therefore, mean that if there had never been any bond security for national banknotes, the winding up of the failed banks, taking each one by itself and applying its assets to its own notes exclusively, would have shown a gross deficiency in the last thirty-one years of only a little more than $1,000,000; and that a tax of three-hundredths of one per cent. per annum on all banknote circulation during that time would have met the entire shortage. Now, the Baltimore plan proposes to accumulate by a gradual tax a guarantee fund of 5 per cent., which is surely abundant and superabundant for the redemption of the notes of failed banks. The plan does not disturb the existing circulation of national banks. It does not specifically provide for furnishing circulating notes to State banks, but the drift of the discussion pointed that way, and Mr. Hepburn gave the sanction of his authority to that policy on condition that the State banks comply with the same requirements as to the guarantee fund and as to examinations by the National Currency Bureau. No opposition to that suggestion came from any quarter. Since the principal representative of the State banks in the convention (Mr. Lowry of Atlanta) was made a member of the committee to memorialize Congress, it may be assumed that that bone of contention no longer exists.

The Belgian elections, which came off on Sunday, are extremely important, as instead of 130,000, as heretofore, 1,370,000 did or might have taken part in them, and these 1,370,000 might have cast, or did cast, 2,111,000 votes, owing to the plural vote. Of these it is calculated that 853,000, about 40 per cent. of the whole, had one vote. About 293,000, or 21 per cent., had two votes, and 223,000, or 15 per cent., had three votes. This is in the elections for the lower house. The Senate is elected by the same electors if over thirty years of age. The one-voters are men over twenty-five, who have lived a year in the district. The two-voters are married men and widowers paying a small tax. The three-voters are the educated class, including the priests. Voting is compulsory. The result is extremely interesting, because this is the first time that it has been possible to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the manner in which the Belgian population is divided among the various political parties. The three great divisions are the Liberals, the Socialists, and the Clericals or Catholics. The three-voters, who are mainly clerical, are more numerous in the country districts. The one-voters are more numerous in the towns, a circumstance which keeps up the power of the country as against the town. In the Brussels district, for instance, the city has 62 per cent. of the whole number of electors, but represents only 0.59 per cent. of the electoral power of the district. The country, on the other hand, has only 38 per cent. of the electors, but represents 0.41 of the electoral power.

The Liberal camp has been greatly broken up by the extension of the suffrage. Some sections of the Liberal party have gone over bodily to the Socialists; others have tried and have been repulsed by the Socialists. The great Liberal leaders, in fact, like Janson, who have posed for years as protectors of the working classes, have lost their popularity and have been cast aside. Some of the fiercest fights in the election promised to be between the Clericals and Socialists, and the Socialists appear to have gained on both the other parties. The Catholics gain most by the plural vote, and may be said to be, on the whole, conservative, but their anxiety to save the souls of the workingmen is so great that there is no knowing what concessions they will make to the Socialists. In fact, the future of Belgium is now very uncertain.

The great orator of the French Socialists, M. Jaurès, lately made a long speech at Bordeaux, from which we learn that the Golden Age, far from being indefinitely adjourned by late events in France, is really very near at hand. That we are still in the Age of Iron he admits, bayonets and the guillotine being too much in evidence to make any doubt possible on that point. But the extension of the functions of the state marks the dawning of the Silver Age, and to make that pass into the Age of Gold only a little thing is necessary. The little thing is simply "to get nature to assume control of the great corporations and the means of production." That is all, and yet M. Jaurès concedes that even nature cannot do it without a struggle. Still, the fight will be a great blessing to the very capitalists against whom it is waged. It is well known that rich men are bored to death. They do not know what to do with themselves or their money. To take it from them will give them novel sensations which they cannot help enjoying hugely. This will give many of them a new interest in life, and prevent no end of premature deaths and suicides from ennui. But will not the Socialist, in his turn, suffer from ennui when he gets hold of the money? Not at all, says M. Jaurès. "L'ouvrier ne s'ennuiera pas quand il sera le maître." Nothing can be more certain than that. It is one of those propositions which appeal to the common consciousness, and require no arguments to prove. As long as the money lasted there would not be a suspicion of ennui. And that is what will make the Age so Golden. In the Socialist millennium no one will ever be bored—or if he is, says M. Jaurès ominously, "so much the worse for him."

Some time ago, after its first year's trial, we pointed out how completely the French law which exacts military service, in barracks and with the colors, of all seminarists and other candidates for the priesthood, had failed to justify either the hopes or the fears with which it had been regarded. The bill was passed as a distinctly Radical measure, and was meant to be a club to beat the Church with. Its supporters hoped that the novices from the seminaries would be simply drowned in the flood of other conscripts indifferent or hostile to religion, and would "lose their vocations." Nothing of the sort happened. None were lost who were worth keeping. On the other hand, the seminarists made a real gain in knowledge of the world and of their fellows, and in training in obedience and exactness and the military virtues. The full three years of service have just been completed by the first levy. The result is bewailed by the *XIXe Siècle*, while it fills the *Univers* with surprise and delight. But it should seem that no one with the least foresight need be surprised that a band of ardent young believers should not at once give up their faith at a first contact with an opposing world, or that zealous propagandists, as most of these young men are, should make some converts. At any rate, the Radicals have only themselves to thank. They voted down an amendment to the bill, which was favored by the moderate Republicans, providing that the seminarists in the army should be kept together and trained in hospital service only. They passed the present law simply to annoy and disturb the Catholics, without much thought of its ultimate results.

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WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH THE DEMOCRATS?

WHAT is it that has put the Democratic party on the defensive all over the country, and is endangering its hold on power in New York city and State? What is it that has done so much to change the triumphant anticipations of 1892 into dismal forebodings of 1894? What is it that is driving back the Independents by the thousand into the Republican ranks, and making a great many feel that the overthrow of the Republicans through the Democratic instrumentality is impossible? It is certainly not any change of opinion on the tariff question. The McKinley bill is no more in favor now than it was in 1892. The facts of trade are still all in favor of lower duties. Protection has been failing rapidly in all the other countries in which it is tried as well as in ours. The theory of free trade—that all commerce is barter, that in order to sell you must buy—is making steady inroads every day into the public mind. In fact, every phenomenon of trade, commerce, and industry all over the world is working steadily on the side of the tariff reform with which the Democrats identified themselves when they elected Mr. Cleveland. What, then, is the trouble?

It is simply and solely the bad character of some of their leading men. It was bad character, not difference of opinion, which caused the defeat of the Wilson bill in the Senate. It failed there in order that some conspicuous Democrats might make money in sugar. It was bad character, not difference of opinion, which made Hill and Murphy labor for the defeat of the perfectly proper nominations which the President made for the Supreme Court. It was the criminal wreaking vengeance on the prosecutor. It was bad character which led to the theft of the election returns in this State, and the elevation of the thief to a judgeship as a reward. It is bad character which has given us our venal police and vicious police justices and our election frauds. These are the things which have brought the party into disrepute. Its ideas are as sound as ever, but some of its foremost men have proved irredeemable scoundrels.

Now, if this theory be true, what is the best service a good Democrat can render to his party? Is it not to drive the rascals out, to destroy them with every weapon which the law puts into his hands? Can there be any better preparation for the great contest of 1896 than sending them into obscurity? One of the strongest but most mischievous delusions of the strict party man, the old-fashioned "regular" who never strays one yard from his ticket, is that it is the good party men who win elections. But one of the most familiar facts of American politics is that it is the shifting independent vote, especially in this State, which turns the scale. As a matter of fact, the regulars, the people who never vote anything on any occasion but the Republican ticket or the Democratic ticket, never win anything. They are a perfectly helpless body. It is only by attracting the free-thinkers to their side that they ever get into office.

We have repeatedly called attention to the figures which illustrate this proposition. They are familiar to everybody. The regular party men are, at nearly all our elections, almost a neglectable quantity. It is not for them that stumpers stump and campaign documents fill the air. It is for the shifting independent vote which observes, reasons, considers, and takes care that the State suffers no damage. It is among these, as a rule, that American polity and morality, the great moral interests of the State—the Ten Commandments, in short—take refuge. It is in their ranks that "the good Americans," the real patriots, stand. It is their opinions and prejudices, therefore, which the wise or shrewd politician will consult. It is indifference to these opinions and prejudices which has ruined Maynard, ruined poor old Flower, and is going to ruin Hill. They, unless we are greatly mistaken, have decided that the Democratic party under such leaders as Hill and Murphy and Sheehan and Croker, is unfit to govern either the State or the country, and must either discard them or abdicate.

This feeling of distrust of the Democratic party, which is working its downfall, is, let us add, enormously aggravated by the persistent "regularity" of such men as Mr. Coudert and Mr. Stetson. Hill and Murphy, says the independent voter, are bad enough, but when men like these stick to such criminals through thick and thin, and ask no questions, except, Have they got the regular nomination? does it not show that there is a gangrene in the party which cannot be arrested? Does it not seem as if we had among us, seeking to govern our country, an organization which claims superiority to the laws of morality on which our civilization is based, and without which it cannot endure? When a mere party nomination closes the eyes of such men to complicity in a transaction like the Maynard fraud, does it not show that the time has come for its destruction as anti-social? Is it not thinly disguised anarchism, and is not the poison of it extraordinarily subtle?

What makes these adhesions to Hill, like that of these gentlemen, of Judge Gaynor, and of other decent people who have written almost comic testimonials to Hill's character, all the more extraordinary is, that there is not, we venture to assert, a single illustration in American political history of their political utility in the long run. We presume they are largely due to a vague notion that the party may some day have favors to bestow, and that the man who has had a black mark put to his name for some kind of "irregularity" will get none of them. But as a matter of fact parties in the long run, like all other human organizations except bands of robbers or pure thieving combinations like Tammany, depend for their success on their adhesion to the great principles on which human society rests. If the party is to be successful and have favors to bestow, it must be respectable and respected, and to be respectable and respected its leading men must stand well with the voters who have the ideas and habits which rule the nation. As long as this is the case, no member of it needs to degrade himself by winking at rascality. When evil days come like the present, the respectable men are sure to be in demand, no matter what their opinions are. Hill and Gilroy roaming around the town trying to get men of honor whom in the days of their prosperity they never consulted, if they did not revile them, to go on their tickets, ought to be a solemn warning to all who feel the party mania eating into their moral system.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION AGAIN.

THE intense interest felt in this city in the municipal campaign and throughout the State in the contest for Governor must not be allowed to thrust out of view the important constitutional questions involved in the approaching election. Experience has shown that it is hard enough, even under the most favorable circumstances, to secure proper attention for such issues. It is therefore the more necessary to call attention to the subject in a year when personal and partisan questions are unusually engrossing.

It will be remembered that the issues submitted by the Constitutional Convention to the voters are summarized in three propositions. One is an elaborate scheme for reapportioning the State, which we have already discussed and condemned on the ground that it is too favorable to the Republican party, and that it discriminates unjustly against this city and Brooklyn by putting a limit upon their possible representation in the State Senate. Another amendment, which is submitted separately, concerns expenditures for canal improvements. The bulk of the Convention's work —31 of the 33 amendments—will be submitted to be approved or rejected by the voter as a single proposition. Several of these are comparatively unimportant, and are universally approved by people who have examined them. A large number of others are of more consequence, but do not demand separate notice, as they were thoroughly discussed in the Convention without developing any possible objection to their adoption. Fully three-quarters of all the amendments passed the Convention with substantial unanimity, and will be accepted as desirable by 99 of every 100 citizens who take the trouble to examine them.

The most important of the proposed changes are those which provide for the separation of municipal from State and national elections, the prohibition of prison

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labor in competition with free labor, the prohibition of pool-selling, the preservation of forests, the prohibition of railway passes for public officials, the removal of the $5,000 limitation of damage in case of death by accident, the extension of the period of citizenship from ten to ninety days before election, the requirement that the merit system shall be applied to the civil service; and the judiciary, education, and charities articles. Nearly all of these will be accepted as desirable changes by any thoughtful man who studies them, and they are remarkably free from features calculated to arouse class or partisan opposition.

Indeed, were it not for two provisions, this whole "omnibus" article would be beyond serious criticism on the one side and the danger of effective opposition from selfish interests on the other. The amendment which meets just criticism is that which practically prohibits prison labor in this State. It prohibits the manufacture by the convicts of any goods to be sold or given away; and the proviso that they may be employed in the manufacture of goods to be used in the prisons or in other public institutions of the State, it is declared by the executive committee of the Prison Association, "is illusory and affords slight relief, for the reason that the goods used in most institutions are now largely manufactured by their own inmates; and, under the operation of this proviso, it is not probable that 5 per cent. of the prisoners could be kept at work." In other words, it is proposed that the constitution shall require the convicts to live in idleness—than which nothing can be worse, more cruel, or more inhuman. What makes the action of the Convention the more inexcusable is the fact that this system has already been tried once in this State (in 1888), and was quickly abandoned because it worked so badly. The Prison Association Committee say of this experiment:

> "The effect of this law was most disastrous; it abolished labor in the prisons, and the convicts, confined in their cells and debarred from employment, made piteous appeals to the authorities to be allowed to go to work. As the idleness continued, the prisoners constantly deteriorated morally and physically; they became more and more restive and mutinous, until the prisons were seriously threatened with outbreak and riot. The injurious operation of this law was so strikingly manifest that it was repealed the following year by common consent."

The opposition to the "omnibus" article on grounds of selfish interest is prompted by the provision which prohibits pool-selling. A law which has been on the statute-book for seven years suspends the general laws against gambling so as to permit pool-selling on races. This law is described in its title as designed "for the purpose of improving the breed of horses." It certainly has not improved the breed of men. Its demoralizing effects have been so clear and so pronounced that the moral element of the community has long demanded its repeal. There is absolutely no defence of the system to be made. But a great amount of capital is invested in the race-tracks upon which pools are sold — $20,000,000, a good authority estimates. A large body of men get their living out of this racing and gambling, so that their bread and butter is at stake. Another large body of men is employed in breeding horses, and is interested in the continuance of conditions which furnish a good market for them. There are tens of thousands of men in the State who have, or can be persuaded that they have, a selfish interest in the maintenance of pool-selling. The race-track men will do their best to insure this by organizing opposition to the whole body of thirty-one amendments which are to be accepted or rejected in bulk. They will not hire brass bands to call attention to their operations, but they will work with the energy which always characterizes men whose chance to make money easily is threatened.

The people who desire the adoption of the new Constitution might as well understand that they cannot fold their arms and sit still while effective opposition is thus being organized. It is most unfortunate that the prison amendment was lumped with the rest. It is altogether bad. Its effect must be mischievous. If inserted in the Constitution, it could not be got out again in two years at the very least—instead of being repealed after a year's trial, as in the case of the legislative act embodying the same principle. The only thing the voter can do is to consider all of the thirty-one amendments upon which he must pass in one vote, and decide whether there is good enough in the other thirty to outweigh the bad in this one. We have heretofore expressed the opinion that the balance is on the side of the thirty, although we cannot criticise severely the man who finds the convict-labor provision too much for him to stomach.

THE LAW OF STRIKES.

So much attention was attracted by Judge Jenkins's injunction forbidding the employees of the Northern Pacific Railroad to strike last December that the recent review of that proceeding by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals will be carefully read by all interested. The substance of the decision is this: Railway employees have a legal right to leave the service of the company either as individuals or by concerted action, provided it is a question of wages or the like, and if no intent to cripple the road can be proved against them. If the result of such action is to embarrass the receivers, it must be taken as incidental unless specially so intended.

It would seem at first as if this decision gave up the whole case. The *Railway Review* (Chicago) remarks that there is a theoretical but not a practical difference between the two actions, so that under such hair-splitting no strike can be enjoined. "Some additional legislation is imperative. Men engaged in transportation should be engaged for a specific period, or, in case of a continuing service, a sufficient notice should be given and required from either party." But, pending the solution of the problem of contracts or of a reasonable notice of leaving the company's employ, there is every probability that we have really taken a step forward. When Judge Jenkins gave his famous description of a strike on a railway as "essentially a conspiracy to extort by violence," and said that "the wit of man could not devise a legal strike, because compulsion is the leading idea of it," he no doubt, as the appellate court finds, overstepped the bounds of legal definition. In the eyes of the law it is possible for employees to enter upon a "peaceful" strike. But if we take Judge Jenkins's language as expressing a business truth confirmed by our industrial history, and a correct statement of strikes as they actually occur, his words could not better describe the situation. Every railway man knows that a peaceful strike would be a flat failure. To succeed, the strikers must surprise the company so as to guard against any efforts towards collecting men beforehand to take their places, and, next, must prevent by violence the running of trains by outside labor. We need go no further back than the Debs strike last summer for an illustration. That wretched attempt would have failed at the outset had not employees and ruffians combined to stop the trains; and it did fail the moment United States troops gave adequate protection to the new men. There was nothing in that strike but violence.

In the light of this fact, that violence is in practice the essence of a successful strike, we are prepared to see how important is that part of the appellate court's decision which confirms everything that Judge Jenkins said regarding the illegality of "combining to quit with the object and intent of crippling the property or embarrassing the operation of said railroad." This condemnation is expressed several times in the opinion. After stating that the injunction should have described an unlawful strike more distinctly, the court continues: "The order should indicate more clearly than has been done that the strikes intended to be restrained were those designed to physically cripple the trust property, or to interfere with their employees who do not wish to quit, or to prevent by intimidation or other wrongful modes the employment of others to take the place of those quitting." If our courts and troops, both State and national, may use their whole power to restrain violence, no strike will easily succeed unless it has such a basis in business justice as to enlist for it the hearty support of public opinion. Surely, to have this position clearly established is a great gain.

It was not to be supposed that our courts would infringe in any way upon the

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general principle of freedom of service. If railway employment is by its nature a special pursuit which should be governed by special rules in the interest of the public, then it is a question whether such special contracts should not be passed upon first by Congress rather than by our courts. It is therefore not at all clear, as the *Railway Review* intimates, that this recent decision has only added to our complexity. On the contrary, the practical effect of the court's argument is to render a stoppage of railway commerce a thing of greater difficulty. Lest it be thought that one other branch of the subject was neglected in the decision, it is well to quote the following:

> "It may be assumed for the purposes of this discussion that he [the striking employee] would be liable in like manner [that is, perhaps even to criminal prosecution] where the contract of service, by necessary implication arising out of the nature or the circumstances of the employment, required him not to quit the service of his employer suddenly and without reasonable notice of his intention to do so."

Certainly this latter quotation goes as far as any unbiassed student of the problem could ask. Of course it leaves open the question whether a striker's employment forbade his quitting suddenly, but in any case that would be for the lower court to consider. A peaceful strike is often the only possible protest against a commercial wrong, and as such is safeguarded in this decision; but strikes which "extort by violence" have received no uncertain condemnation from this high tribunal. Then, again, there is nothing in the decision which looks towards favoring corporations. An opinion that strikes, under any and all circumstances, were to be forbidden would at once have been construed to mean that our courts were the "slaves of capital," with the result that drastic legislation would have been asked for in the interests of labor. As the matter now stands, neither side can rightly complain of the general principles enunciated by the appellate judges. Those general principles may require some modification to fit them to the precise circumstances of each case—railway or other—but that is a matter to be determined later. The situation has gained in clearness. There is no hard-and-fast rule by which we can solve the labor problem; commercially speaking, we can do little else as a matter of law and for the moment than to set limits to the combat.

THE RUDDY PLANET.

MARS, although the nearest to the earth of all the planets, Venus alone excepted, is an object by no means easy to observe, even at its present minimum distance of about forty million miles. To realize the extent of the difficulty, even under the best imaginable conditions of instrument and atmosphere, let any one with no previous knowledge of the moon attempt to settle precise markings, colors, and the nature of objects on our satellite by simple scrutiny with an ordinary opera-glass. Indeed, the moon would, for many technical reasons, prove the less perplexing, although the two cases would be quite parallel in so far as the mere geometry of the case is concerned.

Personal differences affect all sketches of Mars unduly, and the delicate and changing local colors add much uncertainty. Still, the leading features of the planet's surface are well made out, and their stability leaves no room to doubt their reality as permanent planetary crust. Here, unfortunately, the great advance in photographic application to astronomical requirements has not yet helped much, although excellent plates have been obtained by Prof. Pickering, and at the Lick Observatory as well: the texture of the sensitized film is too coarse, and the image of the planet is too small and faint. The border of its disc is considerably brighter than the interior, as the Lick photographs show; but this brightness is far from uniform, and is probably caused by the surface features of the planet. Also variations of color in the markings of Mars depend upon the diurnal rotation of the planet and the angle of vision; and changes of apparent brightness in certain regions are as well established as in the case of the moon.

Mindful of these obstacles in our own day, it is easy to see why the early telescopists failed to discern very much. Since 1830, with better telescopes, Martian investigations have rapidly increased in fulness and importance, Beer and Maedler, Sir John Herschel, Secchi, Kaiser, Lord Rosse, Lockyer, and Lassell being the chief observers down to the very favorable opposition of 1862; while since that time there have been critical observations by Dawes, Knobel, Trouvelot, Green, Terby, Niesten, Lohse, and others, culminating in the classic labors of Schiaparelli, begun at the memorable oppositions of the planet in 1877 and 1879. So abundant and careful have been the drawings of this planet in the past that many excellent maps of its entire surface have been made, by Kaiser (1864), Proctor (1867), Green (1877), Dreyer (1879); and in particular by Schiaparelli (1888), supplanting all others, from his elaborate sketches with the 18-inch Merz refractor of the Brera Observatory at Milan. Dr. Wislicenus of Strassburg has done excellent service by applying the micrometer to the more conspicuous markings, thereby establishing their accurate positions; and it is no exaggeration to say that the areography of Mars is now better known than the geography of immense tracts of our own planet.

The most casual observer of Mars would not fail to notice the striking difference between the brightness of the two hemispheres—the northern chiefly bright, and the southern pronouncedly dark. In fact, the light and dark regions are each very approximately a hemisphere in area. Generally speaking, the dark areas are broad zones lying northwest by southeast. It is the vast neutral-tint area of the northern hemisphere which the powerful eye of Schiaparelli has dotted over with numerous darkish regions of relatively small extent, and which are connected together by his complex system of "canali," intersecting the northern Martian continents. These *canali*, as Schiaparelli termed them (*channels* is the proper English equivalent, not *canals*, as often carelessly translated), were first seen by him in 1877, and they require for their easy visibility a steady atmosphere, and a large and perfect telescope with a trained eye behind it. Not even then are they always visible; particularly near the opposition time, the conditions of illumination appear to be unfavorable, and they are hard to make out or are altogether invisible. Straight in their course, only slightly differing from a great circle, but very different in length (from 400 to 4,000 miles), they intersect one another at various angles, and terminate in darkish areas, many *canali* (in several regions) meeting in a small dark spot. Owing to the varying physical aspects, as to Mars's season and orbital position with reference to the earth, under which they may be presented, a given marking of this type may for a long time remain invisible; and very often, says Schiaparelli, they look like a gray band, deepest in intensity at the middle and shaded at the edges. Not long after the spring equinox, and in a brief duration of time, Schiaparelli has observed many of these *canali* transformed from a single faint marking into a double one. This gemination, discovered in 1879 and verified at many subsequent oppositions, shows the two bands ordinarily equal and parallel, within a few miles of each other, and of the same color and intensity. Apparently this doubling is periodic, fluctuating with the Martian seasons.

The axis of Mars pierces the northern heavens about midway between the two bright stars α Cephei and α Cygni (Deneb), and no precessional motion of the pole is yet made out. No one now doubts the waxing and waning of the polar caps, particularly the southern one; it being largest near the end of the Martian winter and smallest near the end of summer, though seasons on Mars can hardly come and go, as on the earth, if that planet has no atmosphere to conserve and distribute the solar heat. The polar spots are a brilliant white, and are generally thought to be covered with snow and ice. Curiously, while the north polar snows cap the exact pole quite concentrically, and as far as the 85th parallel of latitude all around, the south circumpolar snows do not centre about the pole, but round a point much removed from the planet's true pole; as much as 8° in the elder Herschel's time (1783), and even 20° as measured by Linsser in 1862, but only 3° at the opposition in 1892, according to Prof. Comstock, whose observations bring out very clearly not only the rapid shrinking of the snow-cap—its diameter diminishing about fifteen miles daily—but a progressive shifting of its centre, which would seem to show an unsymmetrical shrinking. Evidently the fluctuations of the polar caps are the key to the situation on Mars, and at the oppositions both of 1892 and 1894 the southern one has been critically scrutinized. The rate of its progressive diminution is by no means constant, and its area, sometimes increasing and again diminishing, is at other times intersected by one or more dark narrow markings; naturally interpreted as heavy falls of snow in the one case, and in the other as the melting of snow in the polar valleys. One "great rift" of the polar cap is very conspicuous, and Mr. Lowell compares it to the appearance of "a huge cart-track coming down to one over the snow." Its breadth he estimates at 220 miles, and its length 1,200. Surrounding this polar cap is a narrow, dark line, nearly uniform in breadth, which is, Mr. Lowell surmises, "clearly water at the edge of the melting snow—a polar sea, in short." He says further:

> "In 1892, as the snow began to decrease, a long dark line was observed, at Arequipa, Peru, to make its appearance in the midst of the cap and then gradually to grow till it cut the cap in two. At the corresponding Martian season in 1894 the same dark line was observed at Flagstaff [Arizona] in the same position. It was well placed for observation, and was carefully studied. It started apparently not far from the centre of the snow-cap, and increased in width and length till it opened into the polar sea in longitude 160°. Later its opposite end

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came out in longitude 330°. Meanwhile it was spreading even faster in the middle. While it was thus eating into the snow, some brilliant points, shining like stars, were observed in the snow between it and the outer edge of the cap, on several successive mornings. They undoubtedly were the far-off glisten of snow-slopes. The subsequent behavior of the spots from which they came bore witness to this, for the rift grew till it formed a large lake in the midst of the snow not far from the geographical pole. Other rifts also appeared and ate into the cap, but the spots that had shone out so brilliantly still remained as snow islands, though daily diminished in size. At last the smaller of the two chief portions into which the cap had been split dwindled entirely away, and the other became a tiny patch eccentrically placed."

A recent announcement of Prof. Campbell regarding the spectrum of Mars is decidedly revolutionary. Our only present means of finding out whether the planet has an atmosphere or not is by means of the spectroscope, which, in the hands of Secchi, Huggins, Rutherfurd, Vogel, and Maunder, has given certain evidence of absorption lines in the spectrum of Mars not due to our own atmosphere; and the inference has always been irresistible that Mars is surrounded by a gaseous evelope of sufficient density to make itself apparent. But, a few months ago, Prof. Campbell, embracing the opportunity when Mars and the moon were near together, made a direct and critical comparison of the spectra of these two bodies, with the unexpected result that they appeared alike in every particular; meaning, of course, that Mars has no more of an atmosphere than the moon itself, which has long been known to be devoid of such an envelope. Should this startling result be confirmed by other investigators, its acceptance would necessitate an utter change in the usual interpretation of the well-known appearances which the disc of Mars presents. For example, as the planet turns on its axis, carrying the spots from the centre to the edge of the disc, they gradually melt from view, just as they would if seen through a greater thickness of atmosphere. The temporary obscurations of certain parts of the disc, frequently observed and satisfactorily attributed to clouds, will have to be otherwise accounted for, and the amount of water must be inappreciable, even without considering the difficulties of explaining how that periodic and well-established expansion and shrinking of the polar caps can go on if there is no atmosphere to act as a medium in the formation and deposition of snow. Prof. Campbell, then, should feel no disappointment if his announcement fails to elicit a cordial welcome from speculators on the climatology of Mars.

But, allowing that the cosmic conditions of Mars are still suitable for the existence of water and an atmosphere, though of no great density, it is an easy surmise, and one doubtless correct, that the lighter regions of the planet's face disclosed by the telescope are land and the darker water. The southern hemisphere of Mars, then, is principally water, and the northern continental land, precisely as in the case of the earth; but while, on our globe, the proportion of land and water is about four to eleven, the surface of Mars shows water and land in very nearly equal amounts. Only the darkest of the dark regions may be actual sea; indeed, M. Niesten thinks those parts of the planet now and then seen to be lightly tinted gray may be marshy lands. But the true aquatic character of the suspected seas would best be established by watching for the reflection of the solar image from them. M. Flammarion has calculated that under favorable circumstances the sun, thus reflected, ought to shine as a star of the third magnitude; but no such phenomenon has yet been observed.

M. Flammarion, who has made an extended study of the climatology of Mars, pronounces it analogous to that of the earth. The northern ice-cap is concentric with the pole, while the southern is removed about 5°. At periods of minimum ice, then, this pole is entirely bare, the diameter of the cap varying from 4° to 5° in summer to 45° or 50° in winter. The polar snows vary according to the seasons; and outside the polar ice, falls of snow have been observed, sometimes extending as far as the equator. The relations of the planet's axis to its orbit are similar to those which obtain for our own globe; but the supply of direct solar heat is about one-half as great per square mile as that of the earth. Owing to the great eccentricity of Mars's orbit, it receives at perihelion about one-half more of solar heat than at aphelion; so that the southern summers must be much hotter and winters colder than those of the northern hemisphere. We may believe, he says, that there are on Mars, compared with the earth, less water and water vapor, fewer clouds, less snow, and a smaller thickness of ice; the length of summer, twice that of the terrestrial season, may amply suffice to melt all the ice.

Only when the crowding enigmas of the moon have been dissolved shall we be ready to pronounce upon Martian appearances with certainty. Particularly must the marked changes of lunar objects with the direction of their illumination be critically interrogated as an auxiliary key to the situation on Mars. The striking rill-systems of the moon vanish utterly as our satellite recedes from the full; and this simple fact shows how foolish it is to attach too great significance to apparent phenomena of the Martian surface which may turn out to be mere phantom changes of illumination.

SARAH BERNHARDT IN THE "FEMME DE CLAUDE."

PARIS, September 28, 1894.

OUR theatres live chiefly, just now, on revivals. With the exception of "Mme. Sans-Gêne" and of the "Cabotins," no plays of any importance have been introduced lately. Alexandre Dumas has given us revivals at various theatres—the "Dame aux Camélias," the "Fils Naturel." A few days ago Mme. Sarah Bernhardt produced at the Theatre of the Renaissance, which has become her theatre, the "Femme de Claude," one of the most extraordinary plays of Alexandre Dumas, which did not meet with much success when it appeared in 1873, and which had not been played for twenty years. "La Femme de Claude" was written before the new law on divorce was enacted; now it seems almost an anachronism. As Dumas himself avowed, some time ago, he would not write it now, since there would be no occasion for Claude to kill his wife, as he does in the play; he would simply take her to a law-court and divorce her.

But, this being so, why is the play again put on the stage? It would be difficult always to explain the motives of Mme. Sarah Bernhardt; she probably merely saw in the part of the wife of *Claude* one in which she could well develop her original qualities; that was enough for her, and, I confess, it was also enough for me—for perpetual travelling, playing before foreign audiences amid third-rate actors and actresses, has not an improving influence on the best of actors. Though time has not spared the ideal Sarah who played in "Hernani" and in "Andromaque," though she has felt, like *Athalie*, "des ans l'irréparable outrage," she still has something left which nothing can alter or destroy—an innate genius, an indescribable grace and delicacy.

It has often been said that the most important part of a letter is generally in the postscript; it is just the reverse with the "Femme de Claude." Alexandre Dumas wrote for it, in 1873, a preface, which you will find either in the first edition of the play or in volume v. of the edition of his complete works. In this preface, which takes the form of a letter to the theatrical critic of the *Journal des Débats*, who had handled the play rather severely, and had found fault with its tragic ending, Dumas comes out in his favorite character, as a moralist, as a critic of the modern code of morality, and of the laws which regulate the relations of man and woman, of father or mother and children.

To those who may some day be tempted to write a biography of Alexandre Dumas the son, this preface is an invaluable document. Its date partly explains the excitement under which it was visibly written. The fatal war of 1870 had come to an end; Dumas had seen the invasion and the Commune; he conceived that the misfortunes of France were owing to its inner condition, to the corruption which had been growing under the Empire. He personified this corruption on the stage in *Césarine*, the wife of *Claude*. In his preface he has a sort of dream of Patmos, and sees the Beast of the Apocalypse.

"This Beast was like a leopard, her feet were like the paws of a bear, her mouth like the mouth of a lion. . . . She was dressed in purple and scarlet, adorned with gold, precious stones, and pearls. She kept in her hands, as white as milk, a golden vase full of the abominations and impurities of Babylon, of Sodom, and of Lesbos. At times this Beast, whom I thought the same that Saint John had seen, emitted from her whole body a vapor, through which she appeared and shone as the handsomest of God's angels, and in which come by thousands, play in convulsions of pleasure and with howlings of pain, and finally evaporate, the anthropomorphous animalcules. They vanished spontaneously with a slight detonation, and nothing remained but a drop of liquid—tear or blood—which was immediately absorbed. . . ."

I will not give the rest of this apocalyptic description; you have perceived already that the Beast is a new incarnation of Eve, of the woman. It is the great Whore of Babylon, the devourer of souls and of bodies. Dumas speaks of her as of a personal enemy, and he explains at length how he came to study her in all her metamorphoses.

The theatrical critic of the *Débats* had been impudent enough to ask Dumas if he had a right to give himself out as a professor of morality, and to say that with the general public he had not the credit of the preacher, the legislator, the magistrate, of all those who have received from society the mission to regulate life. Dumas retorted thus:

"To be sure, everybody knows that I am neither a prince, nor a priest, nor a minister, nor a deputy, nor a magistrate, nor an Academician, nor a member of a general or a municipal council, nor a doctor, nor a lawyer, nor a mayor; and as these people have all received from society the right to speak officially of something, there remains for me, as it did for *Figaro*, the right to speak of nothing. Well, sir, this right, which, if I am to believe you, I do not possess, I assume. And I will tell you why. . . . The judges and the priests who condemned Calas to the torture of the rack had received from society the mission to ad-

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minister justice and to diffuse charity. It did not prevent them from condemning and killing an innocent man. A mere man of letters, like you and me—M. de Voltaire—who had received no mission of the kind, took on his conscience the right to discuss the judgment of the judges, and to avenge and rehabilitate the memory and the family of this innocent man. . . . The man of letters, without any mandate, assumed the function of priest and judge."

Dumas was not yet an Academician, but I trust that he would write now as he did then: "The Academy was a constituted body which had received from the State and from society the mission to instruct and enlighten the country, to summon to itself the men of talent. It nevertheless shut its doors on Molière, who, meanwhile, accomplished his functions of a man of genius without the authorization of anybody." To the critic who had brutally asked him, "Who are you? Who made you a judge?" he answered by a short biography of himself, which is the most important part of this curious preface. He says boldly that he was born a natural child. "Fortunately," he adds, "my mother was a courageous woman, who worked in order to educate me; my father, a small clerk with a salary of 1,200 francs [namely, in the bureau of the Duc d'Orléans, afterwards Louis Philippe], had to support his mother." His father recognized him and gave him his name, though he did not marry his mother. This name did not serve as sufficient protection to the young Alexandre when he was put to school. La Fontaine has said of children: "Cet âge est sans pitié." In the school of Prosper Goubaux, who was himself the best of men, the boys insulted young Dumas "from morning till night; probably delighted to insult in me, since my mother unfortunately did not bear it, the name which my father was making famous. This torture lasted five years; I nearly died of it. I did not grow; I was perishing: I had no taste for study or for play; I was shut up in myself, and I was forming that habit of reflection and of observation which afterwards served and shielded me."

Young Dumas was placed in another school, where he was happy; he became strong and even robust, and at twenty he had no thought except for pleasure. He was not discouraged, he was rather encouraged, by his father in a life of dissipation. Dumas the father had a very exuberant nature; he was a hard worker, and was as fond of pleasure as of work. He saw no impropriety in treating his son as a merry companion, and was always the merrier of the two; "for," says the son, "I took no great delight in these easy pleasures. I observed more than I enjoyed in this turbulent existence. The unfortunate creatures . . . who sold pleasure to some, who gave it to others, who kept for themselves only shame, a fatal ignominy, a doubtful fortune, inclined me rather to cry than to laugh." At this period of his life, Dumas contracted debts to the amount of fifty thousand francs; and, as he happened, he says, to have been born honest, he was anxious to pay them. The drama of the "Dame aux Camélias," taken from his own novel, which he wrote at the age of twenty-one, was the beginning of his pecuniary independence. He decided to remain his own master and worked steadily. He had a plan. He wished to get rid of all conventions and to put reality on the stage in all its forms; he conceived the project of attacking the Beast, the corrupt woman, destroyer of the peace of mankind. He followed her in all the strata of society, and attacked her in every possible way. In a curious pamphlet, where he had shown the destructive power of the Beast, he ends thus:

"If you have tied your life to a creature unworthy of yourself; if, after having vainly tried to make of her what a wife ought to be, you could not save her by maternity, this terrestial redemption of her sex; if she is unwilling to hear you as a husband, as a father, as a friend, as a master; if, not content to abandon your children, she with the first comer calls other children into being, who will continue on earth her accursed race; . . . if the law which has assumed the right to tie has renounced the right of untying and is impotent, then declare yourself personally the judge and the executioner of this creature. She is not your wife, she is not a woman; she is not in the divine conception—she is purely animal, the monkey of the Land of Nod, the female of Cain; kill her!"

This "Kill her!" made some noise before the days of divorce; the "Femme de Claude" is "Kill her" put on the stage. In order to justify the execution, it was necessary to paint the wife of Claude in the blackest possible colors, and, as the piece was written after the war, when patriotism was wounded and very sensitive, *Césarine* is not only an unfaithful wife, she is unfaithful to France; she helps a reprobate to steal a valuable secret from *Claude*, an engineer who devotes his energies to the construction of new guns, new arms, new powders. *Claude* has discovered a way of throwing mélinite and such explosives an enormous distance; his secret is in a memoir which is shut up in a strong-box. *M. Cantagnac* is the agent of a society which we cannot call otherwise than a society of spies, which is working for a nation not named, but, in the mind of Dumas, the nation which had become master of France in 1870. This *Cantagnac* finds an accomplice in *Claude's* own wife, *Césarine*. She is a kind of Messalina. *Cantagnac* has made himself master of all the secrets of her life, before she married *Claude* and since she married him. *Césarine* had deserted *Claude*, who understands her and has lost all confidence in her.

When the curtain is drawn for the first act, we find her returned to the house of her husband. Why did she come back? She wants to win back his love. She has 200,000 francs which she offers him, as he is in debt and must sell his house; his scientific work has been the cause of his difficulties. In vain does she try to take possession of him; he lives now only for science and for his country; he loves *Césarine* no longer. He does not believe in her repentance. She has been a bad mother as she has been a bad wife; she is to him the "Beast," the "monkey of the Land of Nod." He shuts himself up in a sort of sublime contempt. She becomes exasperated. Whether she really wishes to become another woman or not, she thinks herself too much injured. The tempter is there in the person of the spy; he makes use of her fears, her anger. At last she promises to get for him the famous secret of the mélinite gun; but she can get possession of it only by means of *Claude's* pupil, the sentimental *Antonin*, who has always been secretly in love with her. He opens for her the strong-box, where he had deposited her 200,000 francs, which she needs now, as she tells him that *Claude* will not keep her, and that she must run away. When the safe is open, she seizes the memoir which she has promised to *Cantagnac*. *Claude* is in hiding; the trusty servant of *Césarine* has experienced remorse and has told him everything. He enters at the moment when *Césarine* is seizing the memoir, under the eyes of the distressed *Antonin*; he seizes a gun which is lying on a table, he fires, *Césarine* falls dead.

Sarah Bernhardt has lost none of her great powers; she is all herself in this extraordinary play. I am told by friends who saw Mlle. Desclée in the part of *Césarine*, in 1873, that Mlle. Desclée was the incarnate devil which Dumas intended to represent, that she seemed really identified with the "Beast," and produced more effect by her unconscious wickedness and heartlessness. Comparisons are odious. To me, Sarah Bernhardt appeared especially remarkable in the conversation which she has with the spy, when he tells her all he knows about her; and in the scene in which she tries to win back her husband, she displays those qualities of feline coquetry and of nervous sensibility which are among her most extraordinary characteristics.

THE COPYRIGHT CONGRESS IN ANTWERP.

PARIS, September, 1894.

THE sixteenth annual session of the Association Littéraire et Artistique Internationale was held at Antwerp, August 18 to 25, under the direct patronage of King Leopold II. and the State of Belgium. His Majesty, who is a "membre protecteur" of the Association, appointed a commission which included the leading names in the literary, musical, and artistic world of Belgium, and from its numerous members was formed a Committee of Organization intrusted with the preparation of a programme of entertainment, while the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Public Works was charged with the execution of the royal decree. M. Jules de Borchgrave, a former member of the Chamber of Representatives and author of the present copyright law of Belgium, was named by the King to represent the Government in the conference, and the session of inauguration was opened by an address from the Minister of Justice. The Royal Commission and Committee of Entertainment—the latter acting also for the municipality—were under the active presidency of M. Victor Robyns, president of the Cercle Artistique, Littéraire et Scientifique of Antwerp, and the commodious club-house of that organization was put at the disposal of the congress; its great hall being used for the public meetings and banquets, one of its smaller rooms for the daily working sessions, while the comfortable reading-room and pleasant garden served for rest and conversation.

There was no lack of hospitality upon the part of the hosts of the Association, although the steady procession of international conferences from the opening of the Universal Exposition must have proved no small tax upon the ingenuity as well as the good nature of the Antwerpians. During the short term of the literary-property congress, the sessions of no less than three international gatherings overlapped each other; but however great the strain may have been, there was apparent no sign of exhaustion, and so extensive was the programme of social entertainment that members could scarcely follow their own devices, or accept the invitations offered to them as individuals, without seeming to slight their courteous entertainers. One whole day was set aside for an excursion on the river Scheldt, on board one of the royal steamers, but the full enjoyment of this trip was interfered with by a steady downpour of rain; nevertheless it gave opportunity for members to make closer possible acquaintanceship. The two hours' visit to the Musée Plantin Moretus, under the guidance of its courteous cu-

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rator, M. Max Rooses, was both enjoyable and profitable; and the picture presented to us of the sixteenth-century Flemish street procession in its beautiful setting (the artistic imitation of Old Antwerp on the Exposition grounds) will not soon fade from memory.

Aside from the absence of last year's large Spanish contingent—which involved the appreciable loss of addresses in the sonorous and beautiful Castilian—the composition of the present congress was not noticeably different from that which met at Barcelona; certain changes in the attendance, however, being remarked. The genial presence and brightness of speech of that pessimistic writer Dr. Max Nordau were missed, while the hard-working representation from Paris was strengthened by the participation in the labor of the conference of M. Alcide Darras, and the delegate of the Société des Gens de Lettres, M. Théodore Cahu. The absence of M. Henri Morel, the director of the Bureau of the International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Property, was much regretted, although the bureau was ably represented by its secretary, M. Léon Poinsard, the author of a recent book upon 'International Conventional Law' which is receiving flattering attention. Switzerland was represented officially also this year by an additional delegate. Pressure of literary work prevented the appearance of Dr. Gustav Diercks of Berlin, whose intimate knowledge of Spanish affairs made him a marked figure at Barcelona; but the German delegation was increased by the attendance of the poet Wolfgang Kirchbach of Dresden, who brought an invitation for the Association to meet next year in that city. Sig. Augusto Ferrari, who took so prominent a part in 1893, was unhappily absent; Italy being represented, however, by Prof. Castori of the University of Padua. From the Iberian peninsula a single belated delegate of the Society of Spanish Authors and Artists arrived on the third day. Three delegates were sent by various Austrian literary associations, and a member of the Athenæum of Bucharest spoke for distant Rumania. Of the Scandinavian countries only Sweden was represented, by B. W. Lundstedt of the Royal Library of Stockholm. Mr. F. Bætzmann of Norway, one of the perpetual presidents of the Association, whose influence has been marked in its general work and in the shaping of the copyright legislation of the countries of the North, was on the programme for a paper on copyright in Norway and Denmark, and his failure to appear was a genuine disappointment. The absence of any representation from neighboring Holland was noticeable, and was accentuated by the fact that that State is still outside of the Copyright Union. Neither the United States nor Great Britain had any official representation, nor did these countries furnish any delegates from societies interested in copyright. Letters of regret, however, were received from several English men of letters, and the novelist, Mr. J. E. Muddock, was present during one day; while two Americans, both active members of the Association Littéraire et Artistique Internationale, were in attendance—your correspondent during the entire conference, and Mr. Paul Oeker of California for a couple of days.

The number of Belgians who attended the congress was large, and their familiarity with French made it easy for them to take part in the debates, while an intimate knowledge of the subjects discussed gave weight to the active participation of men like MM. de Borchgrave; Peter Benoit, the musical composer; Victor Souchon; Frans Gittens, the Flemish dramatist; the artist Fritz Hanno; and the young lawyers, Charles Dumercy of Antwerp and Paul Wauwermans of Brussels—the latter the author of the most recent important work on the law of literary property in Belgium. Notwithstanding this considerable share in the proceedings borne by the Belgian representation, the members from Paris not only formed a majority of the debating body, but they possessed the great advantage of coming to the conference with a knowledge of what topics would be discussed, and a preliminary acquaintance with the contents of the reports upon which almost the entire proceedings of the congress are based. Printed copies of these reports are distributed to the members, but not sufficiently early to secure for them more than a cursory examination. Thus, of the eighteen documents laid before the present conference, ten only were received on Monday, the remaining eight coming to hand at intervals during the week of the session. Dr. Osterrieth of Heidelberg voiced a general desire when, deprecating this, he asked that hereafter the reports be distributed to members on a fixed date, long enough before the meeting of the conference to allow them to be studied and, if need be, translated for the benefit of non French delegates.

The public session of inauguration held on Saturday, August 18, from two to four o'clock, was fairly well attended, with a sprinkling of ladies in the audience. The Minister of Justice, on the part of the Belgian Government, and the president of the Cercle Artistique, on behalf of Antwerp, welcomed the congress. M. Pouillet, the president of the Association, responded, paying affectionate tribute to the memory of former associates from Belgium, and closing with an appeal for fraternity among nations. At the Hôtel de Ville, also, M. Pouillet drank a toast to universal peace, and the applause accorded in both instances, together with the acclamations which greeted the announcement that next year's congress would be held in Germany, may be taken as hopeful indications, notwithstanding the suspicions that France's recent change of attitude towards the sister nation may have a less admirable foundation than a sincere desire for the peace of Europe.

Following the address of the president, the delegated representatives and members of the Association were called upon in turn for remarks in response to the names of the countries to which they owed allegiance; and in conclusion, the honorary secretary, M. Lermina, the "cheville ouvrière" of each congress, read his admirable yearly review of copyright progress.

The working sessions were held daily at ten A. M. and two P. M. during the following week. Thursday, however, was set aside for recreation, and the last session took place on Saturday forenoon, the afternoon being occupied by the public meeting of closure, when the time was given up to addresses of acknowledgment and farewell, the name of each country being again responded to by some one called upon by the chairman. The working sessions were not public, only such outsiders being admitted as paid a subscription fee of ten francs—a limitation upon the attendance of questionable advisability. These sessions passed rapidly. The proceedings were never tedious, being constantly enlivened by sallies of humor, and occasionally becoming warm and exciting. A word of praise is due to the work of the presiding officers, and especially in acknowledgment of the courtesy and tact with which M. Pouillet kept the discussions to the subject in hand. The fact that many of the subjects treated had been considered at previous conferences gave speed to the procession of topics. Thus the right of translation was brought up in order, simply, to revote at Antwerp the resolutions on this subject passed at Barcelona in view of the approaching diplomatic conference on the Berne convention, it being held that the ten years during which an author enjoys the exclusive control of the translation of his work, according to article 5 of the Berne treaty, ought to be extended to twenty years. The resolution of the Neuchâtel congress (to the effect that the lines in article 1 of the protocol of the Berne convention whereby photographs are admitted to all the privileges of the convention in those countries of the union "where the character of artistic works is not refused to them," should be changed to read, "where photographs are protected by law") was also revoted, without debate, in order to revive this desired amendment of the treaty. It was thought well, also, to reaffirm the view of the Association that the rights of publication and of representation or execution of dramatic or musical works are distinct, and that the cession of the right to publish does not carry with it the privilege of representation or execution, nor does authorization to represent or perform give authority to otherwise publish a dramatic or musical work. The congress suggested certain textual changes in article 9 of the Berne convention in conformity with the above opinion; and, at the suggestion of M. Barthomieu, who represented various architectural societies of Paris, also voted that article 4 of the Berne treaty should be amended so as to include architectural works among works of art protected by the convention.

A report by M. Alcide Darras, entitled "Du mouvement législatif en matière de droits intellectuels dans les trois Amériques," was chiefly concerned with the United States and the progress it had made in establishing copyright relations with other nations, and contained a careful statement of copyright movements since the passage of the act of March 3, 1891. This report gave rise to some discussion regarding the application of the American-manufacture clause to music, and the opportune receipt that morning, by your correspondent, of the decision in the recent case of Novello & Co. vs. The Oliver Ditson Co. made it possible to assure the Congress that the sufficiently explicit text of the statute was sustained by our courts in declaring music exempt from compulsory remanufacture. M. Darras also presented an argument summed up in a resolution that "it is desirable in behalf of simplicity and clearness that the clause regarding 'the most favored nation' shall cease to figure in the treaties relating to the rights of authors and artists." This proposition gave rise to a short but warm debate, and the proposal to suppress the clause was rejected. A lively discussion was aroused, also, by M. Lucien Layus's proposal that contracts relating to literary property should contain an agreement to submit matters of dispute to a board of arbitration. The sense of the Congress was distinctly expressed in favor of leaving the interpretation of disputed contracts to the existing judicial tribunals.

Tuesday's session was opened by the presentation of a detailed report, drawn up by M. Georges Maillard, one of the vice-presidents of the Association, on the copyright bill which has recently passed the Austrian House of Lords. There was unanimity as to the justice of the criticisms made upon the proposed law, and it was voted to appoint a committee of

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three members to prepare a memorial setting out the amendments considered desirable, to be presented to the International Copyright Bureau for transmission to the Austrian Parliament. The next report, also from the hand of M. Maillard, and carried over from last year, was entitled: "De la propriété des noms individuels et du droit d'interdiction en cette matière." The conclusion formulated by the reporter was that "the individual has no property in the assemblage of letters which compose his name, but he is entitled to oppose all injury which may be brought to his personality by the use of it." After a very general debate, occupying two whole sessions, an amended resolution was voted, namely, that "the writer may choose to his liking names for the characters which he creates, but that he becomes responsible for all injury brought thereby to the personality of others." The delicate subject of the liberty of portraiture also aroused considerable discussion. M. Albert Vaunois of Paris distributed a tract entitled "La Liberté du Portrait," which he defended with spirit, declaring that "the portrait which contained nothing insulting was in nothing reprehensible." The conservative view was presented by M. Maillard, whose conclusion that "every person can prohibit the reproduction of his portrait when such reproduction constitutes any injury to his personality" was voted, it being added that, in the case of the authorized execution of a portrait, the artist or photographer holds the artistic-property right, but can use it only with the consent of the subject.

The very interesting topic of the establishment of a universal index of published works was again presented in a monograph by Jules Lermina "from the double point of view of literary property and international statistics." In brief, the idea is to utilize the Copyright Bureau at Berne as the bibliographical recording office of the literary production of the world, or of that portion of it which is comprised within the Copyright Union—which union will ultimately include, it is hoped, all civilized countries. Not much discussion was elicited, but there was general agreement as to the utility of the scheme provided it could take a practical form. A statement by M. Poinsard went to show that the plan would be seconded by the Berne Bureau, although it was as yet an open question as to what might be possible of accomplishment. A series of resolutions were passed in order to bring the matter before the approaching diplomatic conference, and the Barcelona resolution was revoted asking the insertion in the Berne convention of an obligation upon the part of the States within the Copyright Union to prepare an alphabetical index of all the works which have been published or represented in their respective countries since the promulgation of that treaty. In the afternoon session of Wednesday an address was delivered by M. Wauwermans on the subject of gratuitous representation or execution, the speaker contending against the prevalent disposition to consider the benevolent object of a performance sufficient excuse for ignoring the rights of the author or composer. It was the opinion of the Congress that "no performance or execution of a dramatic or musical work, gratuitous or otherwise, for whatsoever purpose, should take place without the express consent of the author, and that the latter was free to give or withhold such consent, or to impose such conditions as he saw fit."

In the absence of M. Halpérine-Kaminsky, who went to Russia last winter on a mission in relation to the rights of authors, M. Darras submitted his "Rapport sur l'État de la Propriété Intellectuelle en Russie." This interesting document contains the full text of a proposed new copyright statute elaborated by the eminent St. Petersburg jurist, M. de Spassovitch. After a vote of thanks to the author of the report, it was agreed to appoint three members of the Association to make a report on the proposed law to be submitted to the Berne Copyright Bureau to be laid before the proper authorities in Russia. An important but difficult question was next taken up: the drafting of a law to govern the relations between authors and publishers in case of the non existence of a contract between them. In two previous congresses proposed texts had been voted upon, and the greater part of the two sessions of Friday, August 24, was spent in a lively debate upon a third draft which was printed together with a brief explanatory report. A feeling prevailed that the form proposed was based too much upon the law and custom in force in France, with too little regard to the practices prevailing in other countries, and that the necessity of formulating only general principles instead of detailed stipulations had been lost sight of. It was voted to remand the report for the evolution of a more simple text of greater international application, and to inscribe its discussion as one of the orders of the day of the next conference.

Saturday morning a careful report by M. Layus, the delegate of the Cercle de la Librairie of Paris, on the legal deposit of copyrighted articles was considered. After some discussion the sense of the congress was expressed in a series of resolutions embodying the principle of compulsory deposit of copies of books and engravings claiming copyright. M. Georges Harmand submitted, without argument, an interesting report on the rights involved in literary collaboration, and asked that this subject be made an order of the day at the next congress, which was agreed to. As usual, there was a failure to reach some of the topics upon the programme, and their consideration must be postponed until the next congress, which is to meet at Dresden in September, 1895.

T. S.

Correspondence.

ARCHÆOLOGY OF INDIA.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Permit me to call attention to an opportunity of which I fear American libraries and students are not availing themselves as they ought. The Government of India has some 3,500 photographic negatives of ancient monuments, temples, and sculptures in India. They illustrate the history of Indian architecture—Buddhist, Brahmanical, Jaina, Dravidian, Chalukyan, Indo-Aryan, Saracenic—and are, in the opinion of experts, of great importance to students of the history, art, and mythology of India.

The Secretary of State for India in Council has granted to Mr. Griggs of London permission to publish the pictures. The publisher proposes to issue a selection of at least 450 plates, imperial quarto, in portfolio form, and in the best style of photo-collotype. The average size of the actual pictures will be 8 inches by 10 inches. The portfolios are to appear at intervals of twelve months, and each is to contain at least 150 plates, and to cost £10. The publication is to be completed in three such parts. Since the list is larger than was at first expected, Mr. Griggs intends to augment considerably the numbers of plates in each portfolio, but without any change in the price.

The undertaking has started with one very great advantage: the subjects and negatives are to be selected by the most eminent living authority in these matters, Dr. James Burgess, C. I. E., late Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, and he will provide for each picture a brief letter-press description.

The subscription list is full (about sixty), the issue very limited, and Mr. Griggs has many plates put down and is ready to begin to print. On the other hand, few of the subscribers are American, and many are foreign public libraries and museums and Government offices, so that there will be little chance of getting a copy afterwards from second-hand dealers.

I have just secured by cable a delay of a few days in the beginning of the printing, and call upon all such public institutions or private persons as may desire to subscribe and have not yet done so, to send me their names and addresses with an agreement to take the work, and to do so on or before the 25th of October.

Charles R. Lanman.

Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., October 15, 1894.

Notes.

An inexpensive series of "Economic Classics" is to be published by Macmillan during the coming winter, under the editorship of W. J. Ashley, professor of economic history in Harvard University. It will embrace three divisions into (1) select chapters from the great so-called classical economists — Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo (this with an eye to ready consultation by students); (2) reprints of older English works—Mun, Child, Petty; (3) translations of important foreign treatises—Roscher, Von Thüenen, Hermann. The volumes will be uniform except in thickness, and not numbered, and will be issued at 75 cents. The only notes will be biographical and bibliographical.

'Lorenzo Lotto: An Essay in Constructive Art Criticism,' by Bernhard Berenson, is announced by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Lotto's precursor, Alvise Vivarini, will necessarily come in for consideration, and his works along with Lotto's (few of which have ever been published before, and some have been expressly photographed for this book) will furnish about thirty full-page heliotype illustrations.

Longmans, Green & Co.'s fall announcements include the first volume of a 'History of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate,' by Samuel R. Gardiner; the third of Canon Liddon's Life of Dr. Pusey; 'English History in Shakspere's Plays,' by Beverley E. Warner; 'Memorials of St. James's Palace,' in two volumes, by the Rev. Edgar Sheppard; 'The History of Marriage, Jewish and Christian, in relation to Divorce and certain Forbidden Degrees,' by the Rev. Herbert M. Luckock; 'From Edinburgh to the Antarctic,' being an artist's notes and sketches during the Dundee Antarctic Expedition of 1892-93, by W. G. Burn-Murdoch; 'Studies of Nature on the Coast of Arran,' by George Milner; 'Butterflies and Moths (British),' by W. Furneaux; 'The Making of the Body,' a reading-book for children on anatomy and physiology, by Mrs. S. A. Barnett; 'A Primer of Evolution,' a popular abridgment by Edward Clodd of his 'Story of Creation'; 'A

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History of Painting,' by Prof. John C. Van Dyke; 'Wandering Words,' various papers, reprinted, by Sir Edwin Arnold; 'The Evolution of Whist,' by William Pole; and 'The Yellow Fairy-Book,' by Andrew Lang.

'The World Beautiful,' soon to be published by Roberts Bros., is made up of recent articles in the Boston *Budget* and *Le Beau Monde*, by Miss Lilian Whiting.

A. C. McClurg & Co. have nearly ready 'Polar Gleams,' an account by Helen Peel of a voyage on the yacht *Blencathra* to the mouth of the Yenisei River.

George H. Richmond & Co., New York, have in press a series of satirical essays and humorous sketches relating to modern fiction under the title of 'The Literary Shop,' from the pen of James L. Ford.

A brief Danish and Dano-Norwegian grammar, by P. Groth, A.M., is in the press of D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

We must now bid good-by to the dainty "Ariel Shakspere" of Messrs. Putnam, since its tale of forty volumes is at last completed by the fifth and sixth sections. After each play has had a volume to itself, the thirty-eighth is devoted to the Sonnets, the thirty-ninth to the Poems, and the fortieth to a Glossary that will not strain the pocket carrying any other one of the series. This contains a list of Shakspere's works; the short annals of his life, an index of characters, the first lines of the songs, and finally the glossary proper. Altogether, the publishers and the public may congratulate themselves on this edition, which can be purchased in bulk or per volume in several styles.

It was inevitable that Masson's 'Napoléon et les Femmes' should be translated, and a version by J. M. Howell, under the title 'Napoleon, Lover and Husband,' is before us (New York: The Merriam Co). The rendering is fluent and idiomatic, and the slip on page 201 about Napoleon's invitation being "paramount to an order" is the only one that has attracted our eye. The book is well printed in open type, and tastefully bound.

Dumas's 'Three Musketeers,' in the two-volume edition just issued by T. Y. Crowell & Co., is a compact text interspersed with photographic "process" reductions of Maurice Leloir's illustrations to the French. In point of time it forestalls the *édition de luxe* which, by arrangement, Messrs. Appleton are shortly to bring out, printing from the original blocks of the designer, and which will bear his name. Those who prize this feature, therefore, must wait for their complete satisfaction. Mr. Frank T. Merrill's full-page illustrations to Messrs. Crowell's 'Count of Monte Cristo,' again in two volumes, uniform with the foregoing, are of a different order, but at their best are quite up to the average of the work of the day, in which there cannot be said to be a progressive improvement.

Besides the 'Three Musketeers,' as just explained, D. Appleton & Co. are preparing a handsome edition of 'Paul and Virginia,' likewise illustrated by Leloir; 'Popular Astronomy,' by Camille Flammarion; three novels, 'Round the Red Lamp,' by A. Conan Doyle, 'The Lilac Sunbonnet,' by S. R. Crockett, and 'The God in the Car,' by Anthony Hope; and a 'Treatise on American Football,' by A. A. Stagg and H. L. Williams.

In view of the coming celebration of the centennial of Onondaga County, N. Y., a volume of 'Early Landmarks of Syracuse' has been prepared by Gurney S. Strong, a local journalist (Syracuse: *Times* Publishing Co.). It is an unpretentious series of historical and antiquarian sketches regarding persons, places, and events, fortified with numerous portraits, pictures of buildings, etc. Four at least of the chapters have a national interest, namely, that on Ephraim Webster, if the contention be sound that this character suggested Leather-Stocking to the novelist Cooper; that on the Hiawatha legend, an Onondaga property; that on Dr. Cyrus Thomas, son of the once famous founder of a school of vegetable medicine; and that on the Jerry rescue, which was among the events precursive of the civil war. Perhaps we should add chapters iv. and v. on early money and the three earliest banks.

C. W. Irwin, Toronto, sends us the thirteenth issue of his 'Hand-book to the Canada Tariff.' It contains the important amendments enacted in the same year as our own latest schedule, though with much greater expedition and less painful legislative throes; a résumé of Ontario commercial law, with all the latest rulings; exchange tables, etc. The reciprocal lowering of the customs bars between the two countries should make such a publication of new importance in this country as well as across the border.

The literary feature of Part ii. of *Bibliographica* (London: Kegan Paul; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons) is the double article on "Two English Bookmen," in which Mr. H. B. Wheatley, Pepys's latest editor, describes that worthy's library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, while Mr. Austin Dobson in a similar manner vindicates Fielding against Thackeray's imputation of "twopenny learning." But in the latter case the library has not been religiously preserved, and its contents are known only from a priced auctioneer's catalogue. The Pepys collection is cited for unique copies of several of the publications of Henry Pepwell, one of Mr. Gordon Duff's "Booksellers at the Sign of the Trinity in St. Paul's Churchyard," 1518-1539, this article being the second in the series; and there is a brief editorial notice of two contemporary references to the English book-trade. For specialists Mr. E. Maunde Thompson provides a learned discourse on "English Illuminated MSS., A. D. 700–1066," and Mr. R. C. Christie another on "The Chronology of the Early Aldines," a valuable rectification, reached by establishing the fact that Aldus used the common and not the Venetian style in fixing the date of his issues. We mention last what may well attract most readers first of all, viz., Mr. Falconer Madan's review, with numerous illustrations, of "Early Representations of the Printing-press." This possesses a curious historical interest, and is, like Mr. Christie's paper, worth the whole price of this sumptuous publication, of which we have but hinted at the pictorial embellishment.

The Randolphs of Virginia, the Pooles, and above all the Saltonstalls of Massachusetts, in their several connections, are exhibited in Mr. Waters's "Genealogical Gleanings in England" in the October number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. The wills are unusually readable as conveying glimpses of the worldly goods, manners, and individual characters of the testators. "I do require my executor," says Dame Susan Saltonstall, "not to use any pomp in giving blacks, or such like," meaning thereby mourning display, and not the sort of gifts that Andrew Hamilton "of the City of Philadelphia Esq," made in 1741, viz: "my negroes Isaac the gardner, Nanny and her daughter Ciss, and the negro boy Jeremiah," etc. Robert Parker's "will and mind" is to "have the organs in Wallsall church played on every Sunday . . . and every holiday likewise . . . forever by a skilful man that can play well. And I hope," he adds, "it will please both God and man, woman and child, for seeing they were prepared by our forefathers, it is a great pity that they should not be played on." John Parker, having entangled himself with a discursive "forasmuch as," pulls himself up with "—— but, to come to my purpose, my will and desire is," etc.

The October number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* approaches in its contents nearest the present day in its comments on Keith's chart of the ancestry of ex-President Harrison. The writer, having occasion to speak of the prompt remarrying of widowers and widows in colonial times, so that "it was not at all an unusual thing for a later husband to submit for probate the will of his predecessor," instances a woman who had six husbands, and adds: "It should be borne in mind, however, that the position of a woman alone in charge of an estate in a newly settled country, surrounded by half-savage negroes or convict servants, was a disagreeable and trying one, and doubtless accounts a good deal for the marriages." Much space is given up to the Flournoy family, and their wills throw light on the size of slave holdings in Virginia. Samuel Flournoy's estate in 1782 yielded thirty-eight negroes; Elizabeth Harris Flournoy bequeathed eleven, after "commending her soul to God and her body to the earth, 'in hopes of a joyful resurrection.'" Thomas Flournoy, 1794, emancipated his (number not given), "forasmuch as it appears to me that by nature all mankind has an equal claim to Freedom."

There is not much to specify in the October number of the *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Papers*. The series of inventories of colonial libraries is continued, and deserves to be studied in comparison with what New England has to show for the same time. Mr. John Fiske's United States History is warmly commended as one that every Southern man can read without outrage to his feelings. This quarterly is now beautifully printed.

The contents of the October Bulletin of the Boston Public Library are of interest chiefly to the students of English and American history. There are lists of the titles of a collection of English tracts, political and religious, published between the years 1625 and 1660, and of the papers relating to America contained in the great Spanish "Coleccion de documentos ineditos." The chronological index of historical fiction of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire is a bibliography rather than a catalogue, as many of the works noted are not to be found in the library. The illustrations are several interesting views of Tremont Street, Boston, from pictures taken in 1800 down to 1869, and a facsimile of a Proclamation of Charles I., intended to restrain emigration to this country, issued in 1637.

One of the scientific results of the William Astor Chanler expedition in East Africa was a very careful mapping of the country northeast of Mt. Kenia by his companion, Lieut. von Höhnel. This accomplished cartographer has given in the last number of *Petermann's Mitteilungen* an account of the observations upon which his map was constructed, together with a sketch map showing the principal constructional elements. Gen. Krahmer contributes to the same number extracts from letters giving the latest news from the exploring expedition in Central Asia of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, and Prof. Engler describes the more important

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facts obtained from recent botanical researches in tropical East Africa.

The committee, of which the Speaker of the House of Commons is president, having in charge the raising of a Jowett Memorial Fund, reports that it has received from about 850 subscribers the sum of £10,100, of which £600 will be devoted to a bust for deposit in the Bodleian, and a monument in the chapel where Dr. Jowett used to preach. The remainder will be used to carry out the other and chief aim of the fund, viz., "to maintain, strengthen, and extend the educational work of Balliol College." Pledges are now called in, and may (along with new subscriptions) be sent to the Hon. Secretary, Philip Lyttelton Gell, Langley Lodge, Oxford.

Concurrent with the publication of the last incomplete volume of the late Dr. Karl Hirsche's demonstration of the authorship of the 'Imitatio Christi' comes the news that the long-talked-of monument to the memory of Thomas à Kempis is to be erected at once. It will be in the form of a tomb, in the lower part of which will repose the relics of the saintly writer, while above there will be a representation in relief of Thomas kneeling before Christ bearing his cross. The figures are to be of life size. The monument will be set up at Zwolle, in the church of St. Michael.

The Scotch Universities Act of 1889 authorized the Universities Commissioners "to alter . . . and regulate" the foundations, endowments, etc., which had at that time taken effect for more than twenty-five years, or which, although of later foundation, were for any reason inoperative. Under this authority the commissioners have issued a general order providing for the admission of women students to a share in the money prizes distributed by their alma mater. The new order (No. 20, ordinance No. 58) comes into force January 1, 1895, "or as soon thereafter as it shall be approved by her Majesty in council," and authorizes the University Court of each Scotch university, "after consultation with the Senatus Academicus," to open to competition without restriction as to sex, or for competition among women students only, any open bursaries, scholarships, or fellowships established prior to 1864. With canny caution, however, it is also ordered that, "save as hereinbefore provided, women shall not be allowed to compete for or hold any bursary, scholarship, or fellowship [of later date than 1864], which is not expressly open to competition by women by the terms of the deed of foundation." The action of the several Scotch universities under this new permission for an equitable division of a portion of educational spoils will be instructive to members of other educational institutions.

The high standard for admission set by Johns Hopkins Medical School is practically justified by the new freshman (2d) class of forty, of whom eight are women. Two of the women students are graduates of Vassar College; the others come, one each, from Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, Smith, Wellesley, and from the coeducational institutions of Swarthmore College and the University of Wisconsin.

—Any light upon the cabal of 1777-'78 against Washington is welcome, and a new bit of evidence has been found. In November, 1777, Washington was near Philadelphia, anxiously awaiting the return of the troops he had sent to Gates, and hoping to have sufficient strength on their arrival to attack the enemy. He had knowledge of a scheme in the northern army to replace him with Gates, and he knew that Conway was one of the principals. What he did not then suspect was the existence of a strong party in Congress hostile to him, and herein lies the interest of a report submitted to Congress by the Board of War on November 21. Under the resolutions of Congress the army had been newly recruited at the end of each year, and Washington was eager to have a force enlisted for three years, or for the war —a new establishment, in short. This idea he urged on Congress in his letters; in his mind, it was the mainspring of any future operations, and unless it was adopted he predicted only ruin to the cause. With a feeling that something in their policy was wrong, Congress had instituted a new Board of War, electing Mifflin a member of it. This new board was to be an executive body, and would, as such, possess important powers. The old board met on the 21st, and Mifflin was present as an adviser. The members present were: Richard Henry Lee, William Duer, Joseph. Jones, William Williams, Francis Dana, and Harvie. As members of Congress they were perfectly aware of the high importance, nay, the necessity, in the opinion of Washington, of a new establishment of the army, yet they agreed to the following report and submitted it to Congress:

"The Board further beg leave to represent that General Mifflin has expressed a warm solicitude that Major-General Gates should be appointed President of this Board, from a conviction that his Military skill would suggest Reformations in the different Departments of the Army essential to good Discipline, Order & Œconomy, and that his Character and Popularity in the Army would facilitate the execution of such Reformations when adopted by Congress: a Task in the opinion of this Committee more arduous and important than the formation of any new Establishment, however wise it may be in Theory!"

—This recommendation was considered by Congress, and action upon it "postponed"; but six days later the following resolution was passed:

"Resolved, That Mr. President inform Maj.-Gen. Gates of his being appointed president of the new constituted board of war, expressing the high sense Congress entertain of the general's abilities and peculiar fitness to discharge the duties of that important office, upon the right execution of which the success of the American cause does eminently depend; that he inform Gen. Gates, that it is the intention of Congress to continue his rank as Major-General in the army, and that he officiate at the board, or in the field, as occasion may require; and that the general be requested to repair to Congress with all convenient despatch, to enter on the duties of his new appointment."

It is useless to speculate on what would have happened had the original resolution been adopted, but it is difficult to see how Washington could have retained the command after such a pronounced declaration of "want of confidence." The total failure of the Canadian expedition in the following spring is ample evidence of the want of executive capacity in Gates, Mifflin, and Conway—the persons chiefly responsible for that wretched attempt, out of which only Lafayette came with honor. The report is of high interest, as it shows how far Congress would go towards snubbing its generals, and it also points out, what has not been positively known before, that Mifflin was responsible for the appointment of Gates as president of the new Board of War—a position near Congress and admirably calculated to meet the wishes of a "political general." Six months later the tide had completely turned, and Washington was ordered to make an inquiry into the conduct of Mifflin as quartermaster-general, and into the "extraordinary deficiencies" in his department and "consequent distresses of the army."

—On September 14, Prof. Dr. Sophus Bugge of the University of Christiania, Norway, read a paper before the Academy of Sciences of that city on the subject of a Runic inscription possessing a special interest for Americanists, inasmuch as, according to Prof. Bugge's interpretation, it refers to one of the early Vineland voyages. The inscription, of which there is now only a copy left, taken by a Major Klüwer, of the Norwegian army, in 1823, was engraved on a stone found at Hönen, in the district of Ringerike, Norway. The stone was raised in memory of a youthful party (or parties) who died in consequence of hardships suffered while returning from an expedition to Vineland. The inscription, in English translation, reads as follows: "Tired and wet and needing warmth and food, they [men and women] came from Vineland to the ice-fields in the uninhabited region. Ill luck may bend fate so that one dies in his early youth." The beginning of the inscription has been lost; it must have contained the names of the party. Prof. Bugge believes that the inscription dates from about 1010-1020, and the character of the runes, at any rate, shows it to be no younger than the first half of the eleventh century. He thinks it possible that this inscription may refer to one of the expeditions known from the Icelandic sagas. In 1003, according to the Saga of Eric the Red, Thorfinn Karlsefni went to Vineland with an expedition consisting of three ships and 140 men (including some women). In 1006 the expedition, while in Vineland, was divided into two parties. One of these parties, which returned on a ship belonging to the Icelander Bjarni Grimolfsson, had to leave it on its becoming worm-eaten while in the waters of Greenland. But as the boat could take only half the party, they had to draw lots as to who should go and who stay with the ship. Those who went away in the boat were saved, those who remained on board perished. It may be that the stone was raised in memory of one or more of the members of this party. The inscription is interesting as being the only written monument from Norway proper referring to the Vineland voyages, and the earliest European monument in which mention is made of America.

—Any one who has followed for a dozen years the course of the constantly swelling flood of French periodicals must often have wondered not only at the number and variety of the reviews conducted by the younger, or youngest, writers, but also at their very existence. How in the world do these scores of immature publications, for the most part of no intrinsic value, manage to subsist? The public that cares to follow their crazy dance of literary and artistic innovation cannot be very large. Who pays the printer? Some light is thrown on this question by an article of M. Paul Souday's in the *Temps* of September 24. He names sixty or more of the "jeunes revues," present or of the recent past. Of these a very few have paid their way: the *Revue Indépendante* was of this number during a portion of its relatively long existence, as the *Plume* is now and has been for the last two or three years. Now and then a Mæcenas is found who, for love of art, supports a magazine and even pays its contributors. This is understood to be the enviable situation of the *Revue Blanche*. Two or three publishers have undertaken such a work, but they have found, after a brief space, that the business lacked

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commercial interest. Tresse & Stock published four numbers of the *Symboliste;* Savine, the *Revue Indépendante*, which died on his hands; Kolb and his successor, the *Entretiens Politiques et Littéraires*, which came to a like end. The commoner plan to day is one which was begun by the *Mercure de France*, and has been followed by the *Ermitage*, the *Idée Libre*, and others. A coöperative association of young writers is formed, each one of whom contributes five, ten, or fifteen francs a month to pay expenses. These last vary much in amount. The *Mercure de France*, a monthly of ninety-six pages, nicely printed on good paper, costs about a thousand francs for each number; others not more than fifty. The *Revue Fantaisiste* was the earliest of the "jeunes revues." It was founded in 1863 by M. Catulle Mendès, then in his adolescence. It ran to nineteen numbers, when it was suppressed in consequence of a prosecution by the Imperial Government, which ended in a fine and the imprisonment of its editor. Among his collaborators were Baudelaire, Banville, A. Daudet, Monselet, Champfleury, Léon Cladel, and other writers of note. But the review was a losing venture in a commercial way, and M. Mendès *père* sank a considerable sum in it. A long series of similar ventures followed it, leading down to those of to-day. Among them one at least may be noted, the *Revue Contemporaine*. Édouard Rod was its editor, and copies of it are even now worth buying when one can pick them up at the bookstalls on the quays.

—Among recent preliminary and preparatory researches on the Vulgate, there is nothing better than the masterly production of the successor of Renan in the Collège de France, Samuel Berger, in his 'Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge' (Paris, 1893). Berger, although until recently only a plain Lutheran pastor in Paris, has since 1879 published a series of investigations on phases of the Vulgate problem in the shape of books, pamphlets, articles, etc. When, then, at the instigation of L. Delisle, the Institute of France several years ago offered to crown the best discussion of "the efforts made in the Carolingian ages to settle and revise the Latin text of the Bible," Berger naturally stood the best chance of success. His work is in reality a monument of close and painstaking research. Nothing seems to have escaped him. He has ransacked forty-nine libraries of France, England, Ireland, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland, tracing the ups and downs of the 250 manuscripts (of which he personally examined 241) and of their relations to each other. We will instance only a Codex of Fleury, of 32 pages, which contains, according to Berger, fragments of five different texts. The scope and contents of the book can be gleaned from its seven general divisions, namely, the Original Text, the Old Francean Text, the St. Gallen and North Italian Text, the Bible of Theodulfus; Alcuin and the Bible of Tours; the Great Carolingian Schools, the Addenda. There are very few publications even in our day of specialism that contain so much new material for study as does this volume of Berger's.

BRAHMS AND BRAHMSISM.

Masters of German Music. By J. A. Fuller Maitland. Scribners.

ALTHOUGH the composers of Germany got more than ten thousand of their effusions into type last year, the fact is undeniable that quality lagged far behind quantity, and that Germany has to-day very few composers whose works will long survive them. Most music-lovers have a vague impression that this is so, but few can realize thoroughly the present dearth of originality in that country until they take up Mr. Maitland's volume, which is concerned only with living composers, as the title or sub-title ought, perhaps, to indicate. He finds only four worthy of separate chapters —Brahms, Bruch, Goldmark, and Rheinberger. Three others—Kirchner, Reinecke, and Bargiel —are grouped together in another chapter headed "The Older Generation." Then there are "The Little Masters," as the author calls them—Herzogenberg, H. Hofmann, Bruckner, Draeseke, followed by the "Great 'Virtuosi,'" Joachim and Clara Schumann, and finally the younger men, Nicodé, Richard Strauss, Sommer, and Kistler, one or two of whom may possibly attain the highest rank—a hope which Mr. Maitland indicates by the heading "New Paths," though he cautiously adds an interrogation-point.

This is rather a meagre showing for what has been ever since the days of Bach the leading musical nation. Yet Mr. Maitland seeks consolation in the belief that in this list there is one man not only of high rank but of the highest. He does not hesitate to class Brahms with Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven. He tells us that he is not only the greatest of living German composers, but "the most original thinker among living composers," and concludes his article with the bold assertion that he holds this great position "in the estimation of the most thoughtful musicians of his own and other countries." On a preceding page, however, he more modestly admits that "even among cultivated musicians there are those who still hesitate to give him the foremost place among living composers," and then proceeds to intimate that this is because he is not understood by his contemporaries. He makes no attempt, however, to explain why Schumann, who gave Brahms such a warm send-off in his "New Paths," did not apparently preserve his interest in him; why Wagner said that "if Brahms could write symphonies like Beethoven, he too would be a great composer"; why Liszt, who always had the keenest appreciation for true genius, both in its germs and in its full development, gave Brahms the cold shoulder; why Rubinstein thinks him "small potatoes"; why Tchaikovsky wrote that Brahms was "dry, cold, misty, vague, and repellent," and had no sense of beauty or melody; and why Paderewski said that for him Brahms's piano-forte music practically did not exist. Surely there are some "thoughtful minds" among these; and many others might be named.

No one denies that Brahms is a composer of noble, serious aims and amazing skill in the manipulation of musical themes; no one denies that he has written songs, symphonies, and especially chamber music, which deserve an occasional hearing. But we have excellent reason for thinking that a great many "thoughtful musicians" will feel tempted to write exclamation-points along the margin of Mr. Maitland's book after not a few of his remarks on Brahms, such as this, that there is in his works a "passionate ardor that is characteristic of southern countries"; that in his songs "is reached the highest point of development of the German Lied"; that he is a "great originator"; and—most astounding of all—that it was probably simply his difficulty in getting a good libretto, and his predilection for classical form, which prevented him from being a great opera composer too, since there is "so much of vigorous dramatic imagination, such buoyant humor, such romantic feeling for what is called 'atmosphere,' such command of 'local color' . . . scattered up and down his vocal compositions." We have always believed that dramatic imagination, passionate ardor, humor, romantic feeling, and the realism of local color were the qualities most conspicuously absent in Brahms; but that is, perhaps, because we are not among the "thoughtful musicians," but merely followed our sense impressions.

The fact that Mr. Maitland, although he has seventeen composers on his list, devotes exactly one-third of his pages to Brahms, may be taken as an illustration of the present Brahms fad in London, which seems to us one of the most extraordinary and amusing phenomena in the history of music. If there is one composer whom Brahms resembles in a general way (though without his creative genius), it is Schumann. Now how did Londoners treat Schumann, not only during his whole lifetime but even subsequently? Mr. Maitland himself tells us, in speaking of his wife's pianistic career:

"It was just before her husband's tragic death, in 1856, that she made her first appearance in London, where the most prominent musical critics vied with each other in indecent abuse of the compositions which she was most anxious to make popular. It cannot have been much consolation to her to read the somewhat half-hearted praises of her own performances, side by side with scurrilous witticisms on Schumann's music," etc.

Now, in the natural course of events, Brahms would have shared the fate of Schumann, as he has done in Paris, for instance. Why has he been more fortunate? We have long suspected that the reason is very much like that which gave Hegel such an amazing vogue in Germany at one time—the obscurity and pedantic heaviness of his diction, which made people think that that of which they could not understand a word or a bar must be very deep and profound indeed. Certainly, nothing could be more diametrically opposed than Brahms to national English taste as revealed in the almost exclusive worship for many decades of Handel, Mendelssohn, and—Sir Arthur Sullivan. Yet to-day one might almost say that Brahms is the fashion in London, although he does not even condescend to answer the letters in which he is invited by an English university to come and be made a doctor of music; and although he bluntly tells an English festival committee who want a new choral work from him, that if his old ones aren't good enough for them, they cannot have any.

In Germany the situation in regard to Brahms is somewhat different. There the Brahms cult, so far as it exists (and there is far less of it than in London), is due very largely to the desperate efforts of the conservatives to find a worthy champion to pit against that terrible ogre Wagner, who threatens to swallow the whole musical globe. It is this which has given to Brahmsism (as to Mascagnitis, which has a similar source) much of its inflated aspect. The best-known German critic, Dr. Hanslick, has led this movement, having for two or three decades lavished on Brahms the adulation which he withheld from all other modern masters, especially Wagner and Liszt. It is to be hoped that Brahms has benefited by this state of affairs, for it is not well that composers of talent should be ignored or allowed to starve; but that the next generation will assign to him a much higher place than we assign to Hummel or Hiller is a matter which we very seriously

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doubt. Mr. Maitland, indeed, argues that the existence of a strong opposition to Brahms "implies strength in the thing opposed"; but if he will reflect a moment, he will see that this opposition is only to the *overrating* of Brahms, not to his music as such, which, regarded from its own level, is often quite meritorious. The opposition to composers of which musical history is so full has always been to daring innovators, and Brahms is the exact opposite of an innovator, being in most respects a reactionary. He has not only retained the old forms, but has even refused to learn the idiomatic orchestral language taught by Wagner and Berlioz, and the idiomatic language of the piano as revealed for all time by Chopin, Liszt, and Rubinstein. That Beethoven wrote less idiomatically than these composers is pardonable, for he came before them and had other fields to cultivate; but that Brahms should ignore almost all progress since Beethoven is absurd, and will prove suicidal.

Many more things in this vein might be added, did we not fear to give the impression that Mr. Maitland's book is not a good one. On the contrary, apart from his overrating of Brahms, it is admirable, both in substance and in style, and it is also very useful as being the only manual of living German composers accessible to English readers. After all, if we were asked who was the greatest living orchestral composer in Germany, we should name Brahms, although we would not place him so high above some others as Mr. Maitland does. Above all, we should not have felt justified in omitting from such a volume the name of Johann Strauss. True, he has written no symphonies and only one opera on a large scale; but is not real genius displayed in an operetta or a waltz infinitely more worthy of honor than the voluminous effusions and *Kapellmeister-Musik* of such men as Reinecke, Herzogenberg, and Max Bruch? As an original melodist Strauss is a true successor of Schubert; his harmonies are more modern than those of Brahms, whom he also infinitely surpasses as a master of orchestration. His operettas, too, are by far the best works of their genre ever written. To omit such a man from a book on contemporary German masters is unpardonable. True, he is an Austrian, but Mr. Maitland's list includes the Hungarian Joachim and the Hungarian Jew Goldmark, whose life is most interestingly told, with amusing anecdotes. Indeed, the volume is entertaining throughout; it is written with great care and genuine literary art, and its usefulness is increased by a list of works following the biography of each musician and the analysis of his works. For an English book on a German subject it is remarkably free from misprints, the only one we have noticed being on page 19, where "Wanderjahre" appears as "Wanderjähre."

Lest this disquisition on the present shortcomings of Germany should leave a wrong impression on the reader's mind, it may as well be added that most other countries are in a similar predicament. France, with Saint-Saëns, Thomas, Massenet, Bruneau, and a few others, can hardly be said to make even as good a showing as Germany. England has a vigorous young school which deserves attention, but has not as yet raised the highest expectations. It is now the fashion to speak of the "young Italians" as bidding fair to found a new school and redeem their country's reputation; but it is hard to repress a smile when such claims are put forth for what an English critic has aptly called the "bill-poster" style of operas of Mascagni and Leoncavallo, with their inevitable adultery and murder set to music of a similar moral character. Italy is, in fact, infinitely worse off than Germany, as it has only Verdi now, who is practically past his years of usefulness, and Boïto, who has been dormant for ten years or more. The real musical geniuses of our day are to be sought outside of the three great musical countries. Norway has Grieg, Bohemia has Dvorák, Russia Rubinstein and the lately deceased Tchaikovsky—four composers each of whom is greater and more original than Brahms, if ideas are more valuable than the scholarly elaboration of commonplace themes in traditional forms.

"THE COLLEGE OF THE SCARLET GOWN."

St. Andrews. By Andrew Lang. Longmans, Green & Co. 1893.

Rectorial Addresses: University of St. Andrews, 1863-1893. Edited, with an Introduction, by Professor Knight. London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: Macmillan. 1894.

In an out-of-the-way corner of the east coast of Scotland there is a little college with a couple of hundred students and a dozen or so instructors. The "city" in which it is placed is hardly more than a village, which serves as a home for a few score fishermen, as a market for the neighboring farmers, and as an economical residence for retired officers and Indian civilians. During these later centuries no great teacher has arisen in it, no great "movement" come out of it; its society has been "provincial," and, like that of most small academic groups, enlivened by personal feuds. It has seemed to offer a man so scanty an opportunity of impressing his thought upon his time that ambitious professors have commonly regarded it as but a stepping-stone to the wider activities of Glasgow or Edinburgh. And yet this little city touches the imaginations of cultivated men with a peculiar tenderness. There are places, like people, that are made to be loved; and St. Andrews is one of them.

The secret of its charm can be learned only by one who has seen it beneath sunshine and blue sky. During the long winter months, indeed, it needs a sturdy constitution to enjoy it, when, as Mr. Andrew Lang tells us,

> "the thin and biting spray
> Drives down the melancholy street";

though even in December there are days, as another St. Andrews poet affirms, when, but for the bare hilltops, one might think it June. But in its proper framework of blue sky and sea the place has a peculiar loveliness. The sturdy tower of St. Salvator's College is still erect; the irregular vista of the main street is still guarded by its West Port. But the ruins of cathedral and castle on the edge of the waters draw us with a spell even more powerful. St. Andrews was the ecclesiastical centre of mediæval Scotland. Here, with the martyrdom of Wishart and the murder of Cardinal Beaton, modern Scotland had its beginning. And so to-day, as we stroll about the green sward, the idealized spirit of the Middle Ages, freed from all its grossnesses, seems to rise before us—to ask us the question, so difficult to answer, wherein the world is better now than it was then.

Of this St. Andrews Mr. Lang might appear the predestined historian. A St. Andrews student himself, the author of those verses on

> "the college of the scarlet gown
> And shining sands beside the sea
> And stretch of links beyond the sand."

which have gone so far as to earn for him the name of poet, the essayist who had already written so agreeably on bygone Oxford, he was apparently the man marked out for the task. And yet, we must frankly say, Mr. Lang would have better consulted the interests of his reputation by refusing to write it, could he only write it *so*. We do not expect research from Mr. Andrew Lang, save upon Homer and Primitive Man—large enough subjects, in all conscience; but one has a right to expect something like consecutive and sustained narrative. Moreover, though one may smile at Mr. Lang's amusing quips, like the well-deserved thrusts at Mr. Froude and his "manly regret" at the absence of "lash or gallows to correct the overzeal of the ecclesiastics," one cannot help feeling that they are sometimes forced and out of place. We are not sticklers for the dignity of history; and yet we would urge that the remark, apropos of Andrew Melville, that "Aristotle is still regarded as a superior person," and the description of the belief of a lad hanged last century as "the negative opinions of the Rev. Robert Elsmere." are more suited to the columns of the *Daily News* or *Longmans' Magazine* than to a comely octavo which is, presumably, intended to be read ten years hence. "Lightness of touch" is a good thing in its way, but, as some writers understand it, it is occasionally rather poor taste.

We would not be supposed to imply that the book is not worth reading. Mr. Lang would find it hard to write anything that was not worth reading; and the mischief is that he and his publishers know this and presume upon it. Mr. Lang says some remarkably good things, which are well worth the attention of those who are interested in the Scottish life and character. "Scotland," he remarks in one place, "received the Reformation without the Renaissance." The covetousness of the nobles in "starving the Reformation" "necessarily produced," he tells us in another place, "a peasant clergy with democratic instincts, and hence came the division between the gentry and the Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland." And Mr. Lang takes a view of the national struggle against incorporation with England which is refreshingly novel and outspoken:

> "In both junctures [in the 13th and in the 16th century] the English policy would have saved infinite bloodshed and suffering; would have secured to Scotland peace, wealth, opportunities of learning; and, in the case of Henry VIII., would have mitigated the havoc of the Scottish Reformation and obtained a due provision for the Reformed Church. The national resistance under Wallace, Bruce, and Lamberton changed Scotland from a comparatively prosperous country, with inklings of civilization, into a starved, fierce, and half-barbarous realm . . . . The Reformation, again, conducted as it was, bequeathed to Scotland a disastrous legacy, the turmoil of the Solemn League and Covenant, innumerable blood-feuds, horrors uncounted, a stinted Kirk, beggarly universities, and a fierce, dissatisfied temper of which we may never see the last."

Since 1863 the students here, as at other Scottish universities, have had the right of electing every three years a Lord Rector. This high officer, although *ex-officio* member of the governing body, usually takes little part in the administration. The chief practical result of the custom is that the students have an opportunity of hearing an address every two or three years from a distinguished personage, who, speaking as an older man who has seen the world to those whose battles are most of them still to come, often uses a directness and simplicity of speech unusual on other occasions. Prof. Knight has done well to put together the thirteen of these addresses

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given at St. Andrews during the last thirty years, in a volume the profits whereof are to accrue to the students' benefit. The most important of them have, indeed, already been published in the works of their authors—John Stuart Mill, Mr. Froude, and Dean Stanley. But the others are difficult to get; and they all gain in interest by juxtaposition.

At a time like the present, when an amount of thought altogether unexampled is being given in America to questions of university organization, such a volume as this is sure of a ready attention. Here will be found almost every view that can be held by cultivated men of to-day as to the true function of a university, the subjects properly taught there, and the fitting methods of study—views widely differing from one another, and all expressed with eloquence and force. And the addresses are perhaps of fresher interest where they touch upon topics lying a little on one side of the main theme. The last three—to dwell only upon these—are each charming in their particular manner. Thus, in 1887, Mr. A. J. Balfour, in amusing and intentional contrast to Mr. Frederic Harrison's recent solemn utterances on the duty of reading only the best books, discoursed on the delights of desultory reading, and said many entertaining and true things by the way. "The individual whose excellent natural gifts have been so overloaded with huge masses of undigested and indigestible learning that they have no chance of healthy development," he boldly pronounces "mythical," and remarks that "true dulness is seldom acquired; it is a natural grace." In '91 that courteous and wily diplomat, the Marquess of Dufferin, told the young men how to succeed in life as he had done—though he did not put it quite in that way—by learning foreign languages, by skill in public speaking, by attention to manner. He tells a story of some political interest:

"Some years ago I had to write a report on the best way of reorganizing the Government of Egypt. . . . My one thought . . . was to make it a clear, practical, and business-like statement of the actual condition of the country and of the measures it would be desirable to introduce. Unfortunately, however, in one of the earlier paragraphs, I was tempted, in the fervor of composition, as there rose to my mind's eye a regenerated Egypt, . . . to make some allusion to Memnon and the rising sun. It was a perfectly spontaneous image, which sprang unbidden from the innocence of my heart: but . . . those who . . . . were opposed to the policy of the Government I was representing at once seized upon this unfortunate simile, and denounced what I had written, which in all its other parts was as bald as well could be, as a literary exercitation; and no doubt they were perfectly justified in considering that neither Memnon nor the rising sun had any business in a blue book."

Finally, in '93, another marquess, this time of Bute, who combines a liberal Roman Catholicism with vast mediæval and especially liturgical learning, suitably concludes the series by a lecture on the history of St. Andrews. The excursuses must have astonished his auditors, wherein he discoursed on the probable authenticity of the relics of the eponymous saint, on the unclerical character of the Culdees, and on the virtues of Peter de Luna, on whom most of the historians of his own faith heap all the blame for the Great Schism. Here is lore easily handled and lit up by fancy and insight, leading to some conclusions which are in curious contrast to those of Mr. Andrew Lang. We rub our eyes when we hear of "the mild and conservative manner in which the Reformation was effected in Scotland as compared with England." But, for this and other statements equally surprising, and all with a good show of evidence, the reader must be referred to the address itself.

Le Declin et la Chute de Napoléon. Par le Maréchal Vicomte Wolseley. 8vo, pp. 220. Paris: Paul Ollendorf.

THE appearance of Lord Wolseley's papers on the campaigns of Napoleon from 1812 to 1815 in a French edition which the publishers inform us, anticipates the English edition of the book by several months, is certainly an interesting fact in the history of book-making in this generation. The English general is very far from enrolling himself among the worshippers of the great man who profess the Napoleon cult. Even his French editor is obliged to say that, from the French standpoint, his criticisms are often unjust and harsh, sometimes even astonishing, and that some of them must be quite inexplicable for the French reader. It is not, then, because Lord Wolseley has suited his tone to a French audience that the reading public in France enjoys the first perusal, in book form, of these papers; we rather conclude that the revival of intense interest in the Napoleonic epoch creates an eager demand in France for whatever the leading soldier of England may say concerning the great Emperor.

Yet English readers will not find the point of view taken which they are most accustomed to, and especially will they be discontented with the subordinate rank assigned to Wellington. The series consists of five papers, of which the first three are very general sketches of the campaigns of Moscow, of Leipzig, and of 1814. The outline is clear, but the treatment is necessarily so brief that there is little room for more than the accepted facts. The chapters on Ligny and Waterloo, dealing each with a single action, give more room for discussion of mooted points and for the presentation of the author's own opinions. The comments of a distinguished soldier upon the operations of great commanders are always instructive. They give us the opportunity to see how his own experience leads him to interpret affairs in critical conjunctures, and how his military instinct seizes the probable meaning of tangled situations on the field of battle.

To account for manifest faults in Napoleon's military conduct, Lord Wolseley emphasizes, more than any other writer we know, the story of some mysterious disease, under the influence of which his genius paled and his energy withered at Borodino, at Dresden, and again at Waterloo. The difficulty with this hypothesis is that such a constantly working cause must have left many traces and been well known in all its symptoms to everybody about the Emperor. It is not commonly pretended that it can be connected with the ailments of which he died at St. Helena. The symptoms are said to have been an irresistible somnolence and a temporary inattention to what are now seen to be important matters. That his growing obesity should affect his physical activity and vigor was no evidence of peculiar ill-health. He had all his life been noted for the irregularity of his sleep, boasting of his power to make up for the usual night's rest by brief naps caught as circumstances would permit. Marmont, in his memoirs, alludes to this, and makes some telling comments on the way in which this eccentricity of Napoleon interfered with the usefulness as well as the comfort of his subordinates who had more normal habits. Gouvion St.-Cyr points to the fact that Napoleon's extraordinary endurance of his rough journey from Wilna to Paris after the Moscow retreat, and the strain of his almost superhuman exertions in creating the new army with which he took the field in 1813, demonstrate a condition of physical health of the highest order. Méneval, the last published of the Napoleonic memoirs writers, who was the Emperor's private secretary, explicitly denies the existence of the supposed disease and its effects.

The argument too often takes the form of an assumption that the Emperor was wholly free from all the human weaknesses of resolution, periods of doubt and of depression, lassitude from overtasked energies, lapses of memory, mistakes of forecast, omissions of complete system, and the other limitations which flesh is heir to. It would, of course, follow that some portentous and mysterious cause must be invoked to explain how he descended to the level of other men. It would be more scientific, however, to make his mental and physical constitution one which will harmonize the undisputed facts in his personal history. He was a very great man, not by being free from human limitations, but by having somewhat less of them than the men with whom he was in competition. It suited his purpose to play the *divus Augustus*, and to affect omniscience and omnipotence; but this, though it imposed upon crowds in his time, was really a wholly finite and human vanity that was weak in itself, and no small element among the failings that finally worked his ruin. He got tired, as other men did, though he pretended that he did not. He got sleepy also, though his courtiers might not dare to tell him of it or to wake him up, even at Ligny. He even got dismayed occasionally when the towering edifice of his ambition began to crack and sway in the earthquake, and he, like other mortals, was made to feel how puny he was when caught in the really dominant forces of nature and of human progress.

A sound historical method must discard the mysterious and the mythical, and build up the portrait of a great historical character by taking honest account of all that he did, the weak things as well as the strong. On the side of morality and of regard for human rights, Lord Wolseley's criticisms are most pertinent. Indeed, in many ways, with the exception which has been noted, his sketches, though brief, are fresh, vivid, and strong, full of instructive suggestion even to those who are familiar with the more complete history of the time and the man.

Familiar Letters of Henry David Thoreau. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by F. B. Sanborn. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1894.

MR. SANBORN'S edition of Thoreau's letters includes apparently all the letters in Emerson's edition of 1865, and how much added matter he has given us may be reckoned from the pages of his book. It has 464 to 207 of Emerson's, the amount of matter to a page being about the same in each. Mr. Sanborn's additional matter is of two kinds—letters of Thoreau's not hitherto published in a book, and a good deal of editorial matter, rich in personal recollection and the fruit of much research, amounting to a brief biography. It gives the order and connection of Thoreau's life, accounts for his presence in this or that place and his flittings to and fro, gives some account of his friends as one after another of them appears upon the scene, explains various circumstances and obscure allusions, and, taken altogether, is a very real and palatable addition

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to the feast spread by Emerson and the fresh dishes from Thoreau's larder which have been added thereunto.

Moreover, Mr. Sanborn has made good his purpose in undertaking a new collection, namely, to show Thoreau in a less aloof and stoical aspect than Emerson deliberately singled out. Thoreau's sister Sophia objected to the one-sidedness of Emerson's choice, and cherished a hope for something different and more complete which Mr. Sanborn has now piously fulfilled. The letters which do most to correct the stoicism and the didacticism of the earlier collection are those written by Thoreau to Emerson when he was in Europe, or elsewhere away from home, and Thoreau was living under his roof and looking out for things about the house and garden. His friendship with Mrs. Emerson was very close and beautiful, and his relation to the children altogether genial and pleasant. In general, Thoreau's misanthropic bark was much worse than his bite. He warned his friend Blake to beware of his exaggeration. It was the form his humor oftenest took. He was nothing if not hyperbolical. The superlative which Emerson deprecated was his daily food. And the favorite subject of his exaggeration was his indifference to mankind, his contempt for his contemporaries. Practically he liked many people, and some very much; enjoyed appreciation; and, like the Scriptural Wisdom, "his delight was with the sons of men." He is never happier in these letters than in describing one person and another. He had the keenest eye for character and its expression in the human face. He knew well enough that of all nature human nature is the best. "What is Nature," he once wrote, "if there be not an eventful human life passing within her? Many joys and many sorrows are the lights and shades in which she shows most beautiful."

It is interesting to see how much of a chameleon he was in his correspondence. Like the Hebrew Yahweh, "to the froward he shows himself froward." He knows well enough that neither Emerson nor Greeley would tolerate such pyrotechnics as he fires off in his letters to his friend Blake of Worcester. To read some of these is very much like filling one's belly with the east wind, but they contain passages of rare and tremulous beauty, some of his funniest exaggerations, and unquestionably some forms of expression concerning the deep things of God that cannot seem otherwise than irreverent and blasphemous to the conventional and traditional mind. The irreverence and blasphemy, however, are entirely in the form. As he pours out his hyperboles to Mr. Blake, we can almost imagine him laughing in his sleeve and wondering how much of it his friend will stand before he sees the joke. Then he repents, and warns him of his habit of exaggeration. In his first letters to Emerson, he appears to be trying hard to be more Emersonian than he, but it is not long before he discovers a more excellent way, and when writing him is at his simplest and his best. Occasionally his criticism of Emerson is more frank than just. He is very hard upon the "Ode to Beauty," which some, especially if they have heard George William Curtis repeat it, have thought one of Emerson's most musical poems.

Alcott did not take Thoreau in his snare so successfully as he did Emerson. Thoreau cannot regard him seriously. He is particularly amused with his building of Emerson's summer-house. But it would not be fair to either Alcott or Thoreau to regard the things here printed as a complete expression of Thoreau's feeling about his neighbor. In 'Walden' we have quite another note. Thoreau and Alcott went together to see Whitman in Brooklyn, and Thoreau found his nature large but coarse. "He said that I misapprehended him. I am not quite sure that I do." The understatement here is in refreshing contrast with the habitual exaggeration. Yet Whitman impressed him sufficiently to set him to writing Whitmanese in his next letter. Evidently this Simeon Stylites was not at all insensitive to the personal influences of his environment. His enthusiasm for John Brown was the most powerful to which he ever yielded himself up. One of Brown's companions at Harper's Ferry came half-crazed to Concord, and it fell to Thoreau to get him safely out of the way. It was hard work, but it was finally accomplished.

There are sentences here that justify the lofty praise which Lowell mingled with his general depreciation of Thoreau's character and work. The old question of his originality and the relation of his talent to Emerson's genius once more recurs. The right answer probably is, that though the influence of Emerson upon his youthful mind was very great, he could hardly have helped being much what he ultimately was if he had never known any such influence. There is much in his books that we could spare because we have it in Emerson in a much saner, sweeter form. But there is much more, especially of the concrete of nature, that is all his own, and there are sentences of such large and striking spiritual significance that beside the best of Emerson's they suffer no injurious reflection on their quality. As for the man Thoreau, he was a good deal of an actor, and his acting was very generally mistaken for his proper self. But, behind the mask, the Yankee townsman—the frugalities of his French extraction in his blood and bones—relished his joke, and looked out with shrewd complacency on those who fancied that he knew not what he was about.

On the Development and Transmission of Power from Central Stations; being the Howard Lectures delivered at the Society of Arts in 1893 by William Cawthorne Unwin, F.R.S. Longmans, Green & Co.

THIS treatise, which is an extension of a course of lectures delivered in the early part of 1893, covers matter which is of special interest at the present time, while the name of Prof. Unwin stamps it at once as a valuable work. In a series of fifteen chapters, it treats of the different methods at present in use for the transmission of power from central stations to the places of application, considering the matter specially with reference to relative efficiency and cost. The general idea is to show the practical advantages and disadvantages of long transmission, so as to enable the student to determine the relative economy of central stations and separate power plants.

The work contains much valuable and very suggestive information, but it is all in technical form, and would be of little interest to the layman unless he had special occasion to study the subject technically. Although the author has apparently made every effort to bring his work down to the present time, it is an illustration of the rapid progress now being made in these matters that the book is already behind the times. Of the 308 pages of text, 82 are devoted to the transmission of power by compressed air, and a very interesting account is given of the compressed-air system which has been so extensively carried out in Paris; but only 34 pages are devoted to the transmission of power by electricity, although this is the method of transmission which is now being studied most ardently, especially in America, and which seems to promise the most useful results. The simple reason for this is that the first cost of the transmitting system is less than that of any other method; and in places where inaccessible waterfalls exist, it offers a chance of utilizing a power whose only real cost is the expense of transmission.

No field of investigation now promises greater practical results than that concerned with the transmission of power, and the book is well worth the careful study of every one interested in this important subject.

A Corner of Cathay: Studies from Life among the Chinese. By Adele M. Fielde. New York: Macmillan & Co.

THE author of 'Pagoda Shadows,' 'Chinese Nights' Entertainments,' etc, furnishes another of her accurate and conscientious studies of Chinese life. Her new volume, in addition to an engaging exterior, shows many proofs of literary art as well as of abundant material and a wise selection. Her sixteen chapters deal almost entirely with social life; even in her treatment of Chinese philosophy and religion she lays emphasis upon the practical side as shown in everyday affairs, illustrating these by many a pat quotation and lively anecdote. She has engaged the services of artists in the celebrated school of Go Leng at Swatow, whose spirited sketches are finely reproduced in color. Throughout the volume one gets the impression that the author has lived very near her subject. Her word-pictures of babies, their mothers and grandmothers, and her insight into ways of thinking and doing are those of one who can see what is permanently good among this unlovely but admirable people. Not content with telling us of household economy, family life, children's games and school work, she takes us into the regions of dream and fancy, and shows the funny kind of people and things there resident. The chapter on the Chinese theory of evolution is cleverly written. The author clearly shows that, whatever may be the political future of China, the moral philosophy of Confucius will ever be largely represented in the science of comparative ethics.

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Bolles, Frank. From Blomidon to Smoky, and Other Papers. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Boswell's Life of Johnson. 2 vols. T. Y. Crowell & Co. $3.
Boyer, E. R. A Laboratory Manual in Elementary Biology. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 80 cents.
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